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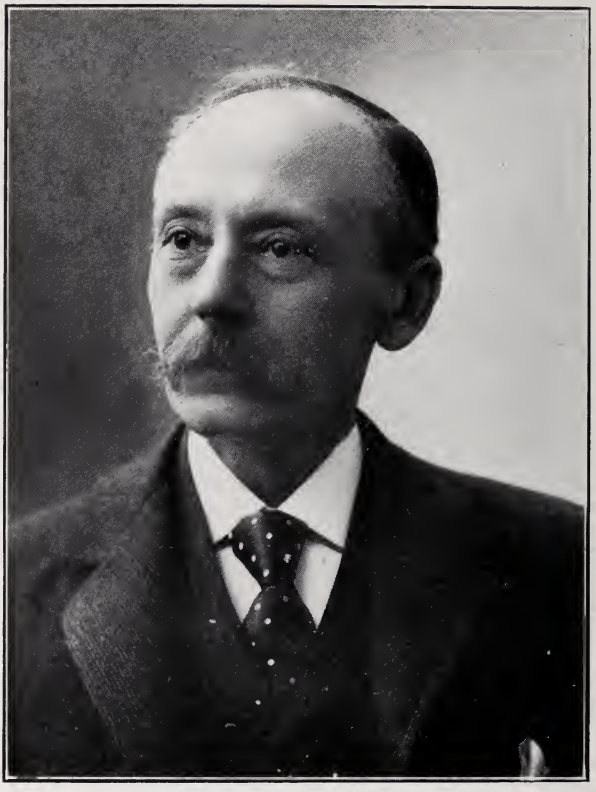

G. A. Finkelnburg

MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTIONS.

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UNDER THREE FLAGS

OR

THE STORY OF ST. LOUIS BRIEFLY TOLD.[1]

BY HON. GUSTAVUS A. FINKELNBURG.

CHAPTER I.

UNDER THE FRENCH FLAG.

1764—1770.

When our thoughts revert to the beginnings of our cities on the Atlantic coast we see in the background the green hills and church spires of England, or the gray dunes and windmills of Holland. In tracing the origin of the early settlements in the Mississippi valley, we must turn our eyes to the more sunny climes of France.

The story, briefly told, runs as follows:

About the time the English settled at Jamestown the French founded Quebec. From there they pushed westward up the St. Lawrence and along the chain of the Great Lakes. In 1673 Marquette and Joliet reached the Mississippi, finding their way to it by the Fox and

[1] Copyright, 1911. By Ida M. Finkelnburg.

Wisconsin rivers; they descended as far as the Arkansas and returned by the way of the Illinois river. In the year 1682 Robert Cavelier de LaSalle, a young man of enterprising spirit and liberal education from the cathedral town of Rouen, who had emigrated to Canada or New France, as it was then called, to seek his fortune, followed this route armed with a royal commission, and he was the first to descend the Mississippi river to its mouth, where he unfurled the banner of France, and amid the acclamations of his forty companions took formal possession in the name of Louis XIV of all the territory watered by that river from its source and all the streams flowing into it on both sides. He called it Louisiana. In substance this embraced all that portion of the present United States which lies between the Alleghanies and the Rocky Mountains. In those days of national land-grabbing this broad claim was supported by a sort of unwritten international law that when a civilized and Christian nation discovers and takes possession of the mouth of a river in a new country that possession was to be considered as including all the territory watered by such river and the streams which flow into it.[2]

But France was unable to maintain its hold on the vast empire it had mapped out and appropriated to itself on the North American continent. The early French emigration to America was brilliant but volatile in character; it lacked numbers and lacked stability; it embraced heroic missionaries, bold explorers, enterprising traders, gallant voyagers and roving "*coureurs de bois*"; but it lacked the farmers and the permanent settlers who like the English colonists on the Atlantic coast came to build up homes for themselves and their posterity. The Anglo Saxon struck root deep, like the oak, while the tendrils of French

[2] Jefferson's Works, Vol. 7, p. 51; Hall's International Law, Sec. 32.

immigration ran lightly along the surface. Indeed the majority looked upon New France as a place of temporary sojourn only to accomplish an end and then return to the land of their birth.

And so it was that when the final struggle between the French and the English for supremacy in North America came in 1753 the French had a population of less than 100,000 scattered over an immense territory, while the more compact British colonists numbered in the neighborhood of 2,000,000. Nevertheless the French colonists fought bravely and desperately for their flag during that seven years inter-colonial war which practically ended with the tragic fall of Quebec. They had received but an indifferent and lukewarm support from a weak and inefficient home government, and on the 12th day of February, 1763, Louis XV. tired of the war, signed the treaty of Paris by which France ceded to Engand not only the whole of Canada but all French possessions east of the Mississippi river from its source to its mouth, except the city of New Orleans. In an apparent fit of disgust or indifference this act of cession was followed by another by which New Orleans and all the territory west of the Mississippi (including the district of St. Louis) was secretly ceded to Spain as an indemnity for the loss sustained by that country as an ally of France during the latter part of the inter-colonial war.[3] Thus France let slip a magnificent future empire. A recent French author calls ths treaty of Paris "*Le crime du regne de Louis* XV." Guizot, treating the subject more philosophically, says:

"Everywhere in the western regions of the American continent, the footsteps of the French, either travellers or missionaries, preceded the boldest adventurers. It is the glory and the misfortune of France to always lead the van in the march of civilization,

[3] The cession to Spain was made 3 Nov., 1762.—[Ed.]

without having the wit to profit by the discoveries and the sagacious boldness of her children. On the unknown roads which she has opened to the human mind and to human enterprise she has often left the fruits to be gathered by nations less inventive and less able than she, but more persevering and less perturbed by a confusion of desires and an incessant renewal of hopes.'"[4]

It was at this juncture of international affairs that St. Louis was founded. The cession of the east bank of the Mississippi to England was known, the cession of the country west of the Mississippi to Spain was unknown and remained a secret for sometime thereafter. Indeed the French government was allowed to remain in possession until the year 1770.

St. Louis was founded in 1764. I am aware that many, if not most of the noted cities of the world, have, or pretend to have, some fabled story or pretty romance connected with their origin. It would have been pleasant for the writer to interweave an Indian legend or French romance with the founding of St. Louis, but a regard for the truthfulness of this chronicle compels me to set it down as a fact that the establishment of the town was simply a business proposition unembellished by legendary lore or romanticism of any kind. Indeed it owed its immediate origin to the grant of a huge monopoly. Such grants, however much condemned now-a-days, were not uncommon in the days of which we write, and have often been incident to the development of new countries as an incentive to enterprise.

During the year 1762 the firm of Maxent, Laclede & Company of New Orleans obtained from the French Governor of Louisiana the exclusive privilege, for a term of years, to trade with the Indians of the Missouri and those west of the Mississippi above the Mis-

[4] Guizot's History of France, Vol. 5, Chap. 53.

souri and as far north as the River St. Peters, a vast territory presenting almost unlimited opportunities for commercial enterprise. To Laclede was entrusted the practical execution of the venture. Laclede was born at Bedons in southern France under the shadow of the Pyrenees in the year 1724, and like many of his countrymen, emigrated to Louisiana to seek his fortune in a new world. He is described in Elihu H. Shepard's Early History of St. Louis as a man of the southern European type, "very dark complexion, black piercing and expressive eyes, a large nose, and expansive forehead." It is generally agreed by those who knew him that he was a man of superior judgment, great energy and amiable temperament, and that he was well liked by all his associates.

Laclede with a party of pioneers and a stock of merchandise left New Orleans in August, 1763, in a number of boats and began the tedious journey up the Mississippi arriving at Ste. Genevieve, then the most northern white settlement of importance on the river, about three months later. He wintered at Fort Chartres on the Illinois side of the river about 15 miles above Ste. Genevieve. Early in February[5] he started

[5] "He (Laclede) left Ste. Genevieve, and arrived at Fort Chartres on the 3d of November, 1763, when he disembarked all his goods, and prepared immediately all the supplies for the different nations. After all the business of the trade was done, he occupied himself with the means of forming an establishment suitable for his commerce, Ste. Genevieve not suiting him, because of its distance from the Missouri, and its insalubrious situation. (The old village is referred to, not the present town which dates from 1785). These reasons decided him to seek a more advantageous site. In consequence, he set out from the Fort de Chartres in the month of December, took with him a young man in his confidence, and examined all the ground from the Fort de Chartres to the Missouri. He was delighted to see the situation (where St. Louis at present stands); he did not hesitate a moment to form there the establishment that he proposed. Besides the beauty of the site, he found there all the advantages that one could desire to found a settlement which might become very considerable hereafter. After

up again, and after inspecting the neighborhood of the confluence of the two great rivers of the west, selected the present site of St. Louis as the most desirable location for the establishment of a trading post which should form the base of the operations for his commercial enterprise and the nucleus for a future town.

On the 15th of March, 1764,[6] the first trees were felled to clear the ground on the river front between our present Market and Walnut streets, a shed was built to protect the provisions and tools, and some cabins to shelter the men. The first colony consisted of thirty men. During that summer Laclede's house

having examined all thoroughly, he fixed upon the place where he wished to form his settlement, marked with his own hand some trees, and said to Chouteau, 'You will come here as soon as navigation opens, and will cause this place to be cleared, in order to form our settlement after the plan that I shall give you.' We set out immediately afterwards to return to Fort Chartres, where he said, with enthusiasm to Monsieur de Neyon, and to his officers, that he had found a situation where he was going to form a settlement which might become hereafter one of the finest cities in America—so many advantages were embraced in this site, by its locality and its central position, for forming settlements. He was occupied the rest of the winter in procuring all things necessary for the settlement,—men, provisions, tools, etc.

Navigation being open in the early part of February, he fitted out a boat in which he put thirty men—nearly all mechanics—and he gave the charge of it to Chouteau and said to him: 'You will proceed and land at the place where we marked the trees; you will commence to have the place cleared, and build a large shed to contain the provisions and the tools, and some small cabins to lodge the men. I give you two men on whom you can depend, who will aid you very much, and I will rejoin you before long.'

I arrived at the place designated on the 14th of February, and on the morning of the next day I put the men to work."

—*Journal* of Colonel Auguste Chouteau.— [Ed.]

[6] There has existed some uncertainty as to the date of the founding of St. Louis, attributable to a change made in Chouteau's Journal. It seems to be now settled, however, that the correct date is 15 February, 1764. See Chouteau's Journal, and Scharff's History of St. Louis, 66 (Waterhouse).—[Ed.]

and store were built on ground now bounded by Main, Second, Market and Walnut streets. Col. Auguste Chouteau, then a very young man, who assisted Laclede, relates that Indian women and children were employed in digging the cellar for this house, the earth being carried out in wooden platters and baskets on their heads. In the fall of that year some more settlers came up the river, so that the first year closed with a population of about 40 souls. Laclede, who by virtue of his authority from the French government to establish a trading post, was considered the legal proprietor of the town site, allotted building sites to the settlers by grants, mostly in lots of 60 by 125 feet along the river front. Two years later Capt. St. Ange came over from Fort Chartres and took charge of the new colony as temporary governor; he in conjunction with Joseph Labusciere, a notary and lawyer acting as Secretary of the local government,[7] executed grants of land in writing which were recorded in books still in existence known as the "Livres Terrien." These grants were generally without money consideration, but upon condition that the grantee should clear the land and build a house within a specified time.

The affairs of civilized man develop similarly wherever communities are established, and so we find a marriage recorded as early as April 20th, 1766, a mortgage within six months thereafter, an agreement to set up a billiard table in 1770, and a deed of separation between husband and wife not long thereafter. The early amusements of the inhabitants according to Billon's Annals consisted of dancing parties, billiards, cards and pony races. The French settlers in Louisiana were of cheerful temperament; they loved amuse-

[7] Labusciere describes himself, in a paper executed in 1766, as "subdelegate of the intendant of Louisiana." The intendant at that time was M. Foucault. Labusciere was also *procureur du Roi*, but was not secretary of any local government.—[Ed.]

ments and merry makings. In this respect they were the antitheses of the Puritans. As had been their custom in the country they came from, they attended mass with much devotion on Sunday morning but they devoted the afternoon to various amusements and the evening to dancing. But, says a chronicler of those days, "it must be confessed that the French people on those days avoid all intemperate and immoral excesses, and conduct themselves with apparent decorum."[8]

The first recorded sale of real estate, dated January 21st, 1766, was from James Denis, a joiner, to Antoine Hubert, a merchant, embracing 60 feet front by 150 feet deep, at the southwest corner of Walnut and Second streets, "with a house of posts on the same built by himself," for a consideration of $20 for the lot and $200 for the house. Soon after an adjoining lot of same size was sold for $20 and six quarts of rum. A lot of 120 feet front by 150 feet deep on the west side of Second street between Pine and Chestnut was sold at a public sale by the Governor to pay the debts of an absconding debtor, September 26th, 1768, for $120 including a small log house 16 feet square.

According to the ancient custom of towns and villages in Europe a tract of land southwest of and adjoining the village was set apart as "commons" for the use of all the inhabitants for pasturage, and another tract northwest of and adjoining the village as common fields, in which strips of land one or two arpents in front by 40 feet deep were assigned to those villagers who desired to cultivate arable land. The tract set apart as commons for pasture had timber and water upon it; the tract for cultivation was mostly an open prairie. The former was afterward laid out in lots and sold by the city as public property. The

[8] Stoddard's Louisiana, p. 316.

common field lots were allowed to become the private property of the respective individuals who possessed and cultivated them at the time of the change of government.

The religious feeling of the first settlers was attested by the reservation of a block of ground in the village for church purposes. It was the block of ground bounded by Walnut, Market, Second and Third streets, upon which the old cathedral now stands.

At first the new settlement was known as "Laclede's Village," but when the village had assumed shape and began to show signs of growth and permanency Laclede named it "St. Louis" not in honor of the then reigning monarch Louis XV. as has sometimes been erroneously assumed, for that dissolute monarch never was sainted, but in honor of Louis IX., canonized by the church for his many virtues and who was the especial protector of towns and cities against the encroachments of the feudal lords. The memory of our municipal patron saint, who reigned over France in the 13th century, valiant in war and wise in peace, was deeply engraved on the hearts of the French people, and for centuries after his death, when oppressed by misgovernment, they would demand a return to the laws and customs of "the good king St. Louis."

During the next few years the new colony grew apace. Many of the French settlers east of the river being averse to the new British rule abandoned their homes and moved over to the west side where they still found the more congenial laws, customs and society of their parent country. St. Louis received its share of these refugees who little thought that in a short time they would again be subjected to a foreign flag. In 1770 at the close of the French Regime there were 115 houses—100 of wood and 15 of stone. The population was 500.

Before bidding adieu to the French regime, we must

take notice of the visit and death of Pontiac, the great Indian chief who has been called the Mithridates of America. A man of vigorous mind, a warrior of great renown and lofty in his ambitions, he was an inveterate enemy of the British domination in which he foresaw the ultimate extermination of his people. During the inter-colonial war he fought with distinction on the side of the French, and after the treaty of Paris made a final dash for the independence of his race by organizing one of the most powerful revolts which ever threatened the English colonies. When that failed too, he wandered about for a time brooding over his disappointments, and as it is said frequently seeking consolation in his cups. In 1769 he came to St. Louis to visit his old friend Capt. St. Ange, then acting governor of this post. The French inhabitants of the town received him with distinction and treated him with the most cordial hospitality. But during a visit across the river to the village of Cahokia, against which he had been forewarned, he was assassinated after a carousal by a Kaskaskia Indian, who it is said was bribed thereto by an English trader. Capt. St. Ange caused his body to be brought over to St. Louis, and he was buried with military honors in the enclosure of the fort which stood near the present junction of Fourth and Walnut streets on ground now occupied by the Southern Hotel.[9]

In the year 1778 Laclede died of a fever in his bateau while returning from a visit to New Orleans. He was buried on the banks of the river near the mouth of the Arkansas. He does not seem to have lived long enough to reap the pecuniary reward which his enterprise promised to yield. His house and other property was sold to pay liabilities incurred.

[9] It is stated on good authority that Pontiac was buried not within the inclosure of the fort, but in the burying ground which lay a little to the northward, north of what is now Walnut Street.—[Ed.]

CHAPTER II.

Under the Spanish Flag.

1770—1804.

His Majesty Charles III., the king of Spain, was slow to avail himself of the gift which his royal cousin Louis XV. had so generously presented to him at the close of the colonial war. When finally he did so the Spanish regime was ushered in with tragic effect. For a time the French inhabitants of Louisiana had been kept in utter ignorance of their involuntary transfer to a foreign jurisdiction; when that fact became known there was much exasperation, and when finally Spain sent the scholarly Don Antonio de Ulloa as a commissioner to arrange for a transfer of the government, there was a tumultuous outbreak of popular feeling in New Orleans and such a demonstration of hostility and threatened violence that Ulloa found it prudent to withdraw. The next year, 1769, Don Alexander O'Reilly, a rigorous general of the Spanish army arrived with a strong military force to establish the authority of the Spanish crown as well as to punish the offenders of the previous year, which task he performed somewhat after the fashion in which his distinguished countryman the Duke of Alba dispatched similar affairs in the Netherlands. Having in some way induced the leaders of the late disturbance to come to his house, he had them seized and court-martialed. Six were shot and a number of others transported to prisons in the West Indies. Among these unfortunates were some of the most prominent citizens of New Orleans.

After this came unqualified submission and peace, and when some months later Lieutenant-Governor Don

Pedro Piernas arrived in St. Louis to extend the authority of Spain to Upper Louisiana[10] the people of this town quietly but with poignant regrets and gloomy forebodings looked on as the French flag was lowered from their little fort and the Castilian standard hoisted in its stead.

Charles III., however, whose subjects the people of St. Louis had now become, was in every respect the superior of Louis XV. both as a man and as a ruler. History describes him as one of the best rulers Spain ever had, and under his reign and reformatory measures the prosperity of the people was greatly promoted. It is generally conceded also that the bloody rigor of O'Reilly's policy in Louisiana was not dictated by royal instructions.

Indeed the Spanish regime on the whole proved an agreeable disappointment to St. Louisans. Lieutenant-Governor Piernas seems to have been a wise and liberal man who understood how to adapt himself to the situation in which he was placed—that of ruling over a people foreign to the crown he represented. He disarmed their antipathies, and when five years

[10] In regard to the distant posts Monsieur the General (O'Reilly) committed to the officers commanding there the powers to make the inhabitants established there take the oath of allegiance to the King of Spain.

The season not permitting a convoy to be sent to the Illinois, Monsieur the general has informed M. de St. Ange who commands there, and who has been there for fifty years, that having confidence in his experience and his probity, he has only to send to him a statement of what he thinks necessary, as well for the savages as for the inhabitants, he will comply with his demands.

Aubry to Choiseul (1769, prior to 23 Nov.), 2 Gayarré, *Histoire de la Louisane*, 312.

Prior to 1796, St. Louis was in "the western part of the Illinois"; after that time the country was called Upper Louisiana.

It may be inferred from the foregoing that the people of St. Louis had transferred their allegiance from France to Spain prior to the coming of Piernas. —[Ed.]

later he was relieved, the residents of St. Louis looked upon his departure with genuine feelings of regret.

When the Spanish government took possession of St. Louis (in the year 1770) the village was six years old and its population consisted of about 500 souls; ancient chronicles show that there were 115 houses, 100 of wood and 15 of stone. The wooden houses were constructed of logs, not after the fashion of the English-American log house with logs placed over each other horizontally, but of flattened logs set perpendicularly in the earth and the interstices between them filled with mortar or more commonly with clay. It was in this manner, too, that the first house of worship was built on the southwest corner of Market and Second streets which was dedicated on the 24th day of June, 1770, by Father Gibault of the Roman Catholic Church. Of the stone houses, besides that of Laclede, the largest and finest was probably that occupied by the Spanish governors on the south-east corner of Main and Walnut streets, of which we are told by Mr. Elihu H. Shepard, that "it was the seat of hospitality and the high school of fashion during both administrations." There were no mails and no inns; letters were carried by private parties as opportunity presented itself, and private hospitality took the place of hotel accommodations. Furs and peltries constituted the principal currency of the people. Contracts generally recited a consideration of so many livres French money "payable in peltries, deerskins or beaver at the current price of the same at this post"; and as late as 1805 taxes were made payable "in shaven deerskins at the rate of 3 pounds to the dollar."

Speaking of taxes, it may be mentioned here that at this early day the revenue system of the province included an inheritance tax of two per cent on property inherited by collateral heirs, and four per cent on all property bequeathed to persons not of kin to the test-

ator. A license tax of thirty dollars per annum was imposed on the sale of ardent spirits.[11]

At this period of time the navigation of our western rivers presented much difficulty. It was carried on by boats propelled by oars with the occasional aid of sails, resort being also had to poling and "cordelling," the latter consisting in pulling along the shore line by means of ropes after the fashion of canal boats. Under these circumstances the voyage from New Orleans to St. Louis usually took from seventy to eighty days, and from St. Louis to New Orleans about half that time. Some of these boats or "bateaux" as they were called had a capacity of from fifty to one hundred tons and required large crews to work the oars. (See Scharff's St. Louis, under title of Navigation.) It may be imagined that this sort of navigation developed a peculiar and interesting class of river men whose characteristics might have furnished rich material for character sketches if there had then been a Mark Twain or Bret Harte to write them up.

Governor Piernas was succeeded by Francisco Cruzat in 1775, and he was followed by Don Fernando de Leyba, who has been described as a weak, avaricious and incompetent ruler. During his administration St. Louis sustained a hostile attack which forms the most notable event in its early history and imperiled its existence as a town. It occurred as follows:

When the war for independence broke out between England and her American colonies St. Louis was under the Spanish flag and hence neutral territory. But Spain, out of animosity to England rather than good-will to the Americans, secretly joined France in sending large sums of money as well as military supplies to America. In 1778, after the success at Saratoga, France openly espoused the American

[11] Stoddard's Louisiana, p. 286.

cause. In 1779 Spain declared war against England and besieged Gibraltar. When this became known in Lower Louisiana some conflicts took place between the Spanish and English forces on the lower Mississippi. About this time, too, rumors were afloat that an attack was meditated by the British on St. Louis. This led to the hasty erection of a line of temporary fortifications around the town constructed of brush and clay with three gateways, and terminating at points on the river north and south. A small fort called "La Tour" was built on Fourth and Walnut streets. This and a few gates in the line of defense were supplied with pieces of ordnance. Nothing came of the rumored attack in the year 1779 and the alarm subsided, but in the spring of the following year a large force of Indians was fitted out, under the auspices of the British authorities at Mackinac, and dispatched towards St. Louis. They arrived, it is said, about 1500 strong at a point on the eastern banks of the Mississippi river a little above the village and crossed over quietly on the morning of May 26th, 1780, landing on the west side in what is now known as Bremen; then by a slight detour they reached the common fields where they found a number of citizens at work, several of whom were killed as were others found outside of the gates. The fleeing citizens gave the alarm and the whole town rushed to arms. The Indians approached the line of fortifications and were met by a resolute defense, consisting of volleys from small arms and discharges of the heavier pieces of ordnance. The latter in particular seems to have confused and terrified the Indian warriors, and seeing the strength of the fortifications they hesitated, fell back, and finally retreated the way they came leaving no trace of their advent save the bodies of over 20 citizens which were found to have been slain and more or less mutilated. Such was the tragic affair called "le grand coup" by the

French chroniclers of local events, and but for the quick and resolute defense made by the inhabitants on that memorable day the infant settlement might have been nipped in the bud.[12] *Le grand coup* is commemorated by one of Wimar's frescoes in the north niche of the Court House dome.

After this experience St. Louis was regularly fortified with a dozen or more bastions, demi-lunes and towers connected by a stockade pierced with loopholes for small arms. This line of defense encircled the town from a point on the river about the foot of Chouteau avenue to a point on the river about the foot of Morgan street, the western line running almost parallel with and little west of Third street. At this time the town must have presented quite a picturesque medieval sort of appearance. But no further attack was ever made, and after the Revolutionary War was closed these fortification gradually fell into decay and were finally abandoned.

Soon after this affair De Leyba was removed[13] and Governor Cruzat returned to St. Louis to take charge of Upper Louisiana. During his second administration the town was more permanently fortified, as above described, and the first step was also taken in the direction of a local municipal government, for it appears that in 1782 "syndics" were appointed by Governor Cruzat on petition of certain inhabitants, and that these syndics were invested with authority to regulate

[12] The King of Spain "in proof of his sovereign gratitude" to Captain de Leyba for his vigorous defense of the village, conferred upon him the rank of Lieutenant Colonel, 18 Wisc. Hist. Collections, 409.—[Ed.]

[13] De Leyba was not removed, but died in office in St. Louis and was buried in the old church, 28 June, 1780, by the side of his wife, who died in September, 1779. So far as the records preserved in the archives afford basis for judgment, De Leyba seems to have been a man of good character and ability, and to have been a good governor.—[Ed.]

the police of the village as well as the enclosure of its commons.

In 1788 Cruzat was succeeded by Don Manuel Perez, and he in turn was succeeded by Don Zenon Trudeau in 1793. Finally, in 1799, came Charles Dehault Delassus, the last and most popular governor of the Spanish succession.

We now come to the events which finally brought St. Louis under the flag of the United States. Spain had never reaped any substantial advantages from her dominion over the Louisiana territory, on the contrary it had rather been a burden, and in the year 1800, Spain availed itself of an opportunity to strike a bargain with Napoleon Bonaparte whereby the whole of Louisiana territory was retroceded to France in consideration of an assurance on the part of Napoleon that the Spanish King's son-in-law (the Duke of Palma) should be established on the throne of Etruria, one of the little kingdoms which Bonaparte had created in Italy.

This arrangement between Spain and France was kept secret for awhile; when it became publicly known it caused a profound sensation in the United States. The free navigation of the Mississippi river to its mouth had become an important subject in the minds of the American people; there had been some friction with Spain on the subject, but temporary arrangements and mutual concessions had been made so as to establish a *modus vivendi.* But the transfer of jurisdiction to a strong progressive and aggressive nation like France was looked upon as dangerous to the future development of American interests in the west. In 1802 President Jefferson wrote to Robert H. Livingston, our minister at Paris: "There is on the globe one single spot, the possessor of which is our natural and habitual enemy. It is New Orleans, through which the produce of three-eighths of our territory must pass

to market, and from its fertility it will ere long yield more than half of our whole produce, and contain more than half of our inhabitants. France, placing herself in that door, assumes to us the attitude of defiance. Spain might have retained it quietly for years.''[14]

Livingston was instructed to begin negotiations at once for the acquisition of New Orleans and some adjacent tracts on the Mississippi, but these overtures did not meet with encouragement. The Peace of Amiens had just been concluded and Bonaparte had the idea of extending rather than reducing the colonial policy of France. In 1803 Jefferson sent Monroe as a special envoy to Paris to co-operate with Livingston in these negotiations. Before his arrival a new turn had taken place in European affairs. France was confronted with a new and threatening war in which Russia, Austria and Sweden were about to unite with England against France. Under these circumstances Bonaparte had neither troops nor ships to spare for the occupation of outside possessions.

M. Feyrol, author of ''Les Francais en Amerique'' reports the progress of these negotiations as follows: ''At this time, Bonaparte was on the eve of declaring war against England, he knew that the English fleet would attack New Orleans. England, he said to his ministers has 21 warships in the Gulf of Mexico, and I have not a moment to lose in placing Louisiana beyond their reach. These American envoys only ask for a single town in Louisiana; but I consider the whole colony as already lost. A few days later, while walking in the gardens of Saint Cloud with M. Marbois, in whom he had more confidence than in M. Talleyrand, he said to him: 'You are in charge of the treasury, Monsieur; very well, ask them one hundred millions and let them take the whole country.' '' Mar-

[14] Jefferson's Works, Vol. 4, p. 432.

bois put in a plea for the French colonists, but Bonaparte would not listen and the price finally fixed for the cession was eighty million francs, from which twenty millions were to be deducted by the United States on account of certain claims of American citizens against France. M. Marbois and Messrs. Livingston and Monroe signed the treaty on the 30th of April, 1803. After signing the treaty the American plenipotentiaries arose and shook hands. "We have lived a long time," said Livingston, "but this is the best work of our lives." The net price paid France by the United States was sixty million francs, or fifteen millions of dollars, a small consideration indeed when we consider that the territory acquired included the present States of Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota, Kansas, Nebraska, Dakota, and portions of Colorado, Idaho, Montana and Indian Territory.[15]

CHAPTER III.

Under the Stars and Stripes.

1804—1908.

When the United States acquired Louisiana, the population of St. Louis was only 925 souls. Major Stoddard, who took possession of Upper Louisiana on behalf of the United States in 1804, describes the town as follows:

"The situation of the town is elevated; the shore is rocky, which effectually prevents the encroachments of the river. It has two long streets running parallel

[15] Lower Louisiana, which extended northward to a line running due west from a point on the Mississippi River near the mouth of the Arkansas, was transferred by Spain to France 30 November, 1803, and by France to the United States 20 Dec., 1803. Upper Louisiana (Alta Luisiana), which comprised the remainder and by far the greater part of the province was transferred at St. Louis on 9 March, 1804, from Spain to France, and on 10 March, 1804, from France to the United States.—[Ed.]

with the Mississippi, with a variety of others intersecting them at right angles. It contains about one hundred and eighty houses, and the best of them are built of stone. Some of them, including the large gardens, and even squares, attached to them, are enclosed with high stone walls; and these, together with the rock scattered along the shore and about the streets, render the air uncomfortably warm in summer. A small sloping hill extends along in the rear of the town, on the summit of which is a garrison, and behind it an extensive prairie which affords plenty of hay, as also pasture for the cattle and horses of the inhabitants.'' (Stoddard's Louisiana, p. 218).

If we compare this simple picture of the frontier town with the present City of St. Louis, its railroads, steamboats, bridges and commerce, its business palaces and luxurious residences, its parks and boulevards, its churches, libraries and art galleries, its theaters, houses, and all the other incidents of metropolitan city life, we may realize what American energy and enterprise has accomplished in a hundred years.

It is not within the scope of this sketch to trace step by step the material growth of the city, nor its development in detail along the lines of modern civilization and culture, but rather to point to a few things only as milestones of progress in its history, leaving the reader who may be interested in pursuing the subject further to resort to some of the larger histories of this community which are replete with statistical information of much value and interest.

Soon after the change of government, St. Louis and surroundings began to attract emigrants from the older States; Indian traders, land speculators, merchants, mechanics and farmers. The Anglo Saxon pulse began to throb in the community. New avenues of trade were opened; the broad acres of Missouri and Illinois were gradually subjected to cultivation, and the trader pushed his expeditions into the far west for furs and peltries.

Some of the events which usually mark the progress of a community may be summarized as follows:

A postoffice was established in 1804; the first newspaper in 1808; the village was incorporated as a town November 9, 1809; the first bank was established in 1816; the first brick building erected in 1816;[16] in 1822 St. Louis was incorporated as a city, divided into three wards with a mayor and nine aldermen. The city then had a population somewhat over 5,000. Dr. William Carr Lane was elected the first mayor of the city. The first waterworks went into operation in 1832, up to which time water was procured from springs and wells or directly from the river. Gas light was introduced in 1849. Our admirable sewer system which has contributed so much to the health and progress of St. Louis was inaugurated in 1849 over much opposition by individual property owners on account of the expense.

An event of more than ordinary import was the arrival of the first steamboat, the "General Pike," August 2d, 1817, which marked a new era in the growth and commerce of St. Louis. The locomotive, which marked another era, did not make its appearance until 1853, and the first bridge across the Mississippi river was opened to traffic in 1876. It is known as the Eads Bridge; so named after its projector and constructor, Capt. James B. Eads.

For a long time education was left to parochial and private schools. It was not until 1837 that the first public free schools were established—one on Fourth and Spruce streets, and one on Broadway and Cherry street.

[16] The first brick building in St. Louis was a storehouse erected, in 1812, by Mr. Bartholomew Berthold, on the east side of Main street, a little north of Market. The first brick dwelling house was built, in 1815, by Judge William C. Carr, at the southeast corner of Main and Spruce streets. It is still standing, and in habitable condition.—[Ed.]

There was no school for higher education connected with the public school system until 1853 when a High School was organized. A handsome building, erected for its use on the northeast corner of Olive and Fifteenth streets, was occupied in 1856. St. Louis University, the oldest college of St. Louis, where so many of its prominent citizens received their higher education, was founded under the auspices of the Catholic church and was chartered in 1832. Washington University was chartered as a non-sectarian institution in 1857; it was founded and is now maintained by the private endowments of public spirited citizens. The Mercantile Library, of which St. Louis is justly proud, was established in 1846; and the "Public School Library," the predecessor of our present great "Public Library," was established in 1865.

It has already been stated that the first church, "a tiny log affair," was erected as early as 1770, on Second and Market streets; the second church, erected in 1776, is briefly described as "a wooden structure 65 feet long and one-half that measure in width, with a veranda five feet wide running around the whole structure." Until the change of government in 1804 and for some time thereafter St. Louis was essentially, almost exclusively, a Catholic community, but with American immigration also came the Protestant church. According to Devoy's History of St. Louis the first Protestant church building was erected by the Baptists in 1818 on the corner of Third and Market streets; the first Episcopal service was held in 1819 in a brick building on the southwest corner of Second and Walnut streets, and the first Presbyterian sermon was preached November 6th, 1814.[17]

The first theater building, a frame structure on Main street between Olive and Locust streets, was erected

[17] Devoy's St. Louis, p. 170.

by public subscription in the year 1819, and was opened with Goldsmith's "She Stoops to Conquer," but there had been dramatic performances previous to that time. Shakespeare made his debut in St. Louis July 25th, 1818, when a mixed company of professionals and amateurs announced "The play of Henry the Fourth or humors of Sir John Falstaff." St. Louisans evidently believed in early hours in those days judging from the announcement: "Doors open at 5:30 p. m., performance to commence at 6:30 p. m." In 1827 the structure above spoken of was succeeded by the "Salt House Theatre," on Second street between Olive and Locust, so-called because it was an old salt warehouse converted into a theater. The opening performance of this theater was "The Honeymoon." Finally, in 1837, a spacious and elegant structure was erected on Third and Olive streets (where the old postoffice building now stands). This theater was for a long time successfully and ably conducted by Messrs. Ludlow and Smith, who occupied a prominent position in the theatrical affairs of the West.

In 1812 the name of Upper Louisiana was changed to Missouri and a territorial government organized, with St. Louis as the seat of government. William Clark, of the famous Lewis and Clark exploring expedition, was appointed Territorial Governor, and continued in office until the state was admitted into the Union. In 1820 after that memorable national struggle over the slavery question which ended in the "Missouri Compromise," the state was admitted into the Union. Alexander McNair of St. Louis was elected governor. Thomas H. Benton and David Barton, both of St. Louis, were elected as the first United States Senators, and John Scott of Ste. Genevieve the first member of the House of Representatives. The first state legislature assembled at the "Missouri Hotel" on the southwest corner of Main and Morgan streets.

In 1816, while Missouri was still a territory, an important and far reaching change took place in the laws of this part of the country. The Spanish law had been introduced throughout Louisiana in 1769 when O'Reilly took possession on behalf of the Spanish crown. It remained in force up to and after the change of government; so that when the Americans came to St. Louis they found that instead of the familiar principles of Blackstone and the English common law it was the Partidas and the Spanish colonial code which furnished the rules of decision in all controversies and the forms for contracts and other legal transactions.[18]

[18] "The provincial institutions of the Spaniards together with the municipal and other laws, have arrived to as much perfection as the policy of the government, and the circumstances of the people, will admit. These have been collected, examined and digested with great care and labor; such only have been retained as experience dictated to be useful, and those of a different character were consigned to oblivion. This digest bears the stamp of authority in all the provinces, and is denominated the code of the Indies. In all cases where the code is silent the general laws of Spain, called the laws of the partidas, prevail in all the tribunals. * * * But the misfortune was, that very few of the public officers, except those attached to New Orleans, were acquainted with them. None of them were ever published, except one or two hereafter noticed, and those disposed to consult them were obliged to examine a voluminous digest. This obstacle to legal information made it necessary for many of the subordinate officers at a distance from the capital to decide according to their conceptions of equity except where they were aided by the written instructions of their superiors." Stoddard's *Sketches Historical and Descriptive of Louisiana*, pp. 271-273.

"The lieut.-governor, who resided at St. Louis, was the commander of the militia, and had a general superintendence of the public works and property, but I do not know the exact extent of his power. The laws of Spain were in force here; but it does not appear that any others had been in practice besides those which related to lands and the municipal arrangements. Laws regulating civil contracts are so intimately interwoven with the manners of a people that it is no easy task to separate them; here *la coutume de Paris*, the common law of France, was the system by which their contracts were governed." Brackenridge, Views of Louisiana, p. 133.—[Editor's Note.]

Out of deference to the older inhabitants, who had become accustomed to the Spanish forms and knew none others, this state of things was allowed to continue until 1816 when by an act of the territorial legislature the common law of England was formally adopted as the basis of jurisprudence. This change of course was not retroactive, and for a long time afterwards our St. Louis courts were obliged to settle disputes according to the Spanish law particularly in regard to land titles, and this to some extent is still the case.

The treaty by which Louisiana was ceded to the United States, called the Treaty of Paris, was dated April 30th, 1803. By the third article of that treaty it is provided that the inhabitants "shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property and religion which they professed." The Supreme Court of the United States has decided that the word "property," as used in this clause of the treaty, includes any right, legal or equitable, inceptive, inchoate or perfect, which, before the treaty with France, had attached to any piece or tract of land." (Bryan vs. Kennett, 113 U. S. 132, and Strother vs. Lucas, 12 Peters 434.)

At the time of the transfer there were a great many inchoate and imperfect land titles in and around the village of St. Louis; titles which rested in possession only or in informal grants by local officials. Congress endeavored to discharge its duty in the premises by providing for a board of commissioners and other officials before whom claimants under Spanish titles might appear, prove up their claims and obtain confirmation from the United States. But in many instances this was neglected. This, together with inaccurate surveys, uncertain locations and conflicting claims afterwards gave rise to a great deal of land litigation involving

these Spanish titles, and some of which litigation is still going on.

Among the distinguished foreigners who visited St. Louis in its earlier days may be mentioned the Marquis de Lafayette in 1825, John J. Audubon in 1842, Charles Dickens in 1842, William M. Thackeray in 1857, Jenny Lind in 1851, and the Prince of Wales (later King Edward VII.), in 1860.

Charles Dickens, who loved to look at the seamy side of everything he saw in America, describes a part of St. Louis, as it appeared to him in 1842, as follows:

"In the old French portion of the town the thoroughfares are narrow and crooked, and some of the houses are very quaint and picturesque; being built of wood, with tumble-down galleries between the windows, approachable by stairs, or rather ladders, from the street. There are queer little barbers' shops, and drinking-houses, too, in this quarter; and abundance of crazy old tenements with blinking casements, such as may be seen in Flanders. Some of these ancient habitations, with high garret gable windows perking into the roofs, have a kind of French shrug about them; and, being lop-sided with age, appear to hold their heads askew besides, as if they were grimacing in astonishment at the American improvements."[19]

Thus far nothing has been said about music, art and public parks. Music has been cultivated in St. Louis since the earliest days, and various musical societies have introduced and maintained a high standard. One of the earliest of these societies, if not the earliest, was the Polyhymnia, under the direction of William Robyn, organized about 1849. It was followed in 1859 by the Philharmonic, long under the direction of Edward Sobolewski. Then came the Musical Union, under the direction of August Waldauer, which con-

[19] American Notes by Charles Dickens.

tinued the good work until more modern days, when it, in turn, gave way to the present numerous associations which represent every phase of the musical art.

Our esteemed fellow citizen, Mr. Emile Karst, whose name has so long been identified with the cultivation of music in this city, recently contributed some interesting reminiscences to the readers of the Globe-Democrat, from which I take the liberty of extracting the following:

"The first introduction of orchestral music to a St. Louis audience in the concert room took place on the 8th of October, 1845, at the old Concert Hall, then situated on the south side of Market street, between Second and Third streets, where Ole Bull had played, and where concerts were usually given.

"Before any of the citizens of German nationality had found their way to St. Louis, then a French town, inhabited principally by French people of West India and Canadian origin, the music furnished for the gentle, cheerful and hospitable people at their social gatherings, balls, parties or weddings consisted of one or two violins with guitar accompaniment. The music played was of no little merit, as their contradances, minuets, gigues and gavottes came down to the players from compositions of the celebrated masters of the time of Louis XIV. to Charles X.

"During the early '30s the German musicians made their advent in St. Louis—first a clarionetist, then a fagottist, then a French horn, then gradually other instruments, year by year, until one day the most learned of the local musicians, William Robyn, who played every instrument in the orchestra, thought the time had come to call all the city's musicians together and organize a complete orchestra, with stated regular public concerts. The idea found such favorable response on the part of all, both professional and amateur musicians, that after the society, named "The Polyhymnia Society," was duly organized, officers and musical director duly elected, and a few energetic and enthusiastic rehearsals, the following programme was decided on and duly performed, to the wonder and delight of

the audience, but few of whom had ever heard or dreamed of the grand effects of orchestral music:

PROGRAMME OF THE FIRST CONCERT OF THE POLYHYMNIA SOCIETY, OF ST. LOUIS, OCT. 8, 1845, WM. ROBYN, DIRECTOR.

1. Overture—Don Juan.....*Mozart*
   Orchestra.
2. Violin solo.....*De Beriot*
   Mr. Francis Obert.
3. Terzetto for soprano, tenor and bass.....*Sigismund Newkorn*
   Soprano, Mrs. Obert; tenor, Mr. Eggers; basso, Mr. Christian Kribben.
4. Overture—Acteon .....*Auber*
   Orchestra.
5. Overture—La Gazza Larda.....*Rossini*
   Orchestra.
6. Flute solo..... *Toulu*
   Mr. Wm. Robyn.
7. The Posthorn, baritone-song, Mr. Kribben; cornet obligato, Mr. Wm. Robyn.
8. Violoncello solo.....*Mr. Henry Robyn*
9. Grand valse..... *J. Strauss*
   Orchestra.

The fine arts have found their chief representation in the Museum and School of Fine Arts on Locust street, originally endowed by the late Wayman Crow. The Art Museum, with its valuable collection of paintings, has now been removed to Forest Park, and by a vote of the people it has been recognized as a public institution, to be maintained by a municipal tax of one-fifth of a mill, to be levied for that purpose.

Parks have been called the "lungs" of a city; but they have another significance, aside from the sanitary point of view. Communion with nature is one of the necessities of the moral and spiritual life. Lord Bacon says: "God Almighty first planted a garden; and, indeed, it is the purest of human pleasures; it is the greatest refreshment to the spirit of man; without which buildings and palaces are but gross handy-works." This important adjunct to city life, so puri-

fying and elevating to the soul of man, has been generously provided for by the wisdom of bygone days. Forest Park, Tower Grove Park, and half a dozen others, afford a variety of nature's sylvan and floral beauties, culminating in the celebrated Missouri Botanical Garden, the gift of the late Mr. Henry Shaw. The only cause for regret is that the two spots reserved for trees, grass, flowers and fountains in the center of the city have been seized for other purposes and filled with brick and mortar.

And now the printer reminds the writer that this sketch has already reached its contractual limits. Thus we are hampered in our ambitions in life by the ignoble limitations of time, space and economics. And so I must steer my discourse to the close, and yet nothing has been said about some of the most serious episodes in the life of our community—the great flood of 1844, when the waters crept up to Main street on this side of the river and turned the low lands of Illinois into a great inland sea—the great fire of 1849, when the business part of the city, from Locust to Market streets, was destroyed—the cholera of 1849, when the angel of death hovered over this city for nearly four months, decimated its population and struck terror into the hearts of all—the war period, when the tramp of infantry, the clatter of cavalry, and the rumbling of heavy ordnance was heard along our streets by day and by night, and St. Louis was once more encircled by a cordon of forts, and finally, the great tornado of 1896—nor has anything been said about the culminating glory of our new St. Louis, the great Exposition of 1904, when the nations of the earth assembled in our city to display their best achievements—all these things must be left to the reader to fill out, in his own way, from other sources.

And what as to the future? We are told by the census that during the last two decades nearly six millions

of people in the United States moved from the country to the cities. We are told that when George Washington was first inaugurated, but three per cent of the population lived in cities, but that in 1890 the ratio had increased to twenty-nine per cent—almost one-third of the entire population. There seems to be an ever-growing attraction in great centers of population. The reasons are economic, social and educational. Whether we agree with them or not, the fact remains as a sociological factor to be considered in planning for the future. We have passed the half million mark of population in St. Louis, and will reach a million at no very distant day. We will step into line with the great cities of the world and must assume the corresponding duties of such a responsible position. Much has been done but much more remains to be done. May our civic undertakings be planned with due regard for the important mission which this city is destined to fulfil commercially, morally and socially. The growth of our cities has aroused the attention of the American people to the importance of municipal government, not only with reference to the people who dwell in cities, but to the nation of which they form so important a part. Perhaps no part of the American system of government has caused so much criticism as the government of our large cities. It may be said that the weakest point in American government is the administration of public affairs in these municipal corporations. Civic duties must be cultivated if we want to avert civic deterioration. The neglect of these duties by our so-called best citizens, who assume that everything must be done for them, nothing by them, is one of the chief causes of American municipal government, such as it is. We probably have just what we deserve to have, and the wonder is that it is no worse. What we want is not only honesty, but also efficiency.

A modern writer (Mr. Conkling) concludes an inter-

esting book on City Government in the United States with the following paragraph, with which quotation I will also conclude this sketch:

"Great cities are the danger points of our national life, and hence municipal government is best worthy of the careful thought of our citizens. Underneath all remedies that may be suggested for the better government of our municipalities is the inculcation of the doctrine that they must be ruled on sound business principles, and that the questions of policy that divide the best men in national politics have no place in the choice of municipal officers."

LIST OF BOOKS ON HISTORY OF ST. LOUIS CONSULTED IN THE PREPARATION OF THE FOREGOING PAPER.

ANNUAL REVIEW; History of St. Louis, improvements of the year, etc. (1854.)

BILLON, F. L.
Annals of St. Louis under the French and Spanish domination. (1764-1804.) (1886.)

BILLON, F. L.
Annals of St. Louis in its territorial days, 1804-21. (1888.)

CHOUTEAU, AUGUSTE.
Fragments or narrative of the settlement of St. Louis, a literal translation from the original French MS. in the possession of the St. Louis Mercantile Library. (1858.)

CITY OF ST. LOUIS, metropolis of the great west and south. (1892.)

COX, JAMES.
Old and new St. Louis; a concise history with a biographical appendix. (1894.)

DARBY, JOHN F.
Personal recollections of events relating to St. Louis during the first half of the century. (1880.)

DEVOY, JOHN.
History of the City of St. Louis and vicinity from the earliest times to the present. (1898.)

EDWARDS and HOPEWELL.
The Great West and her metropolis, St. Louis. (1860.)

HEINRICHS, G.
St. Louis und Carondelet sonst und jetzt. (1873.)

HOGAN, JOHN.
Thoughts about the City of St. Louis. (1854.)

HYDE and CONARD.
Encyclopedia of the history of St. Louis. 4 vols. (1899.)

KARGAU, ERNEST D.
Mercantile, industrial and professional St. Louis (1902.)
NICOLLET, JEAN NICOLAS.
Sketch of the early history of St. Louis. (1843.)
OVERSTOLZ, HENRY.
City of St. Louis; its history, growth and industries; address. (1880.)
REAVIS, L. U.
St. Louis, the future great city of the world. (1870.)
SCHARF, J. THOMAS.
History of St. Louis city and county from the earliest periods to the present day. 2 vols. (1883.)
SHEPARD, ELIHU H.
Early history of St. Louis and Missouri, 1673-1843. (1870.)
STODDARD, AMOS.
Sketches Historical and Descriptive of Louisiana (1812).
SWITZLER'S History of Missouri. (1879.)
WILLIAMS, HENRY W.
History, abstracts of title, evidences of location, etc., relating to the common field lots of the South Grand Prairie and cul de sac of the Grand Prairie. (1854.)

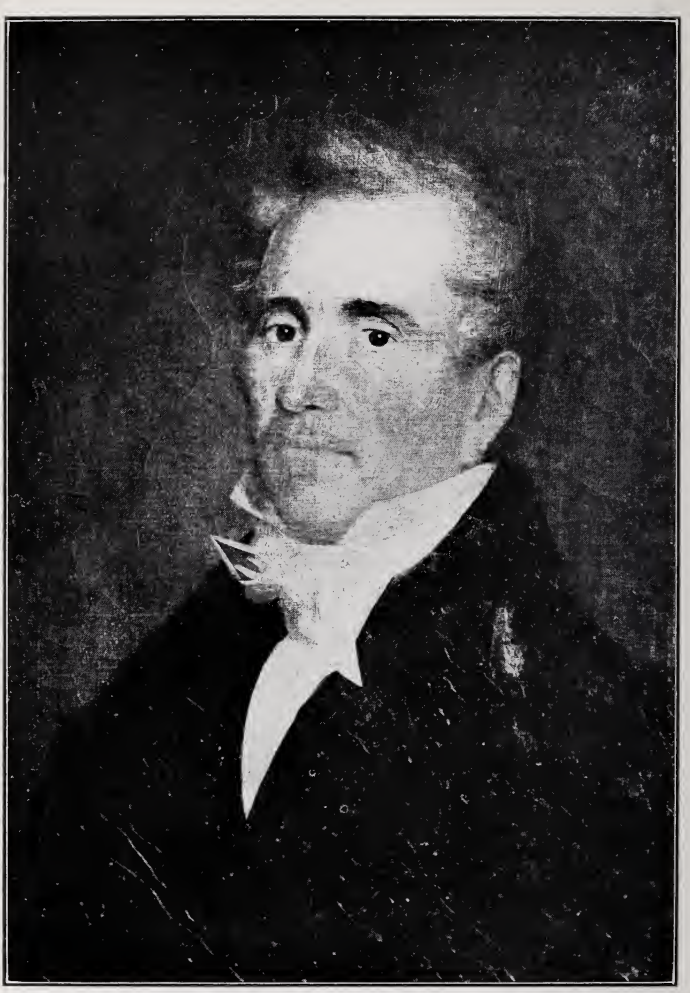
BAPTISM OF GEN. BERNARD PRATTE.

Le vingt sept D'aoust mil sept cent soixante onze par nous Curé De L'Immaculate Conception De Notre Dame Des Kaskaskias soussigné ont été supplées les Ceremonies Du St. Bapteme a Bernard né le Douze de Juin de la present Année Du Legitime mariage De Jean Baptiste Pratte et De Marie Anne La Lumaudière son épouse habitants de Ste. Genevieve. Le parain a été Le Sr. Bernard Gibkins Chirurgien, et la Marraine thérèse La Lumaudière le parain a signé avec nous ainsi que la mère presente: La maraine a Declarée ne sçavoir signé.

P^{r} Gibault P^{tr}

Marie Anne La Lumaudière
Femme Pratt
Bernard Gibkins

From Kaskaskia Church Register.



Manuel de Lisa

MANUEL LISA.[1]

By Walter B. Douglas.

The isolation of St. Louis for many years after its founding is something which is at the present day beyond comprehension. The little village was like an island set down amidst uncharted seas. The wilderness stretched away from it on every side for hundreds of miles. That which lay to the westward was, to a great extent, unexplored, and its inhabitants unknown. It was thronged with

> "Unimagined terrors, haunted glooms
> And shadowy horrors of an unknown world,
> Wild as primeval chaos."

To the east of the Mississippi the *coureurs de bois* and the traders from Canada had followed the course of the rivers, had learned the portages and had established trade relations with the Indian tribes. But between the Mississippi River and the Blue Ridge Mountains there was but a single permanent white village—that of Vincennes—outside of what is now known as the American Bottom. In that narrow tract, skirting the east shore of the river, were the villages of Cahokia and Kas-

[1] Col. Hiram Martin Chittenden in his excellent work on *The American Fur Trade in the Far West*, has collected many facts regarding Lisa's career; and has embodied them into a very satisfactory sketch of his life, which forms one of the chapters in that interesting book. Many of the statements in this paper for which no authority is cited, are based upon Col. Chittenden's work. Valuable assistance has also been given by Miss Idress Head, Librarian of the Missouri Historical Society; by the Kansas State Historical Society and Hon. George W. Martin, of Topeka, and by Doane Robinson, Esq., secretary of the State Historical Society of South Dakota. Miss French's article on Lisa in Volume IV of the South Dakota Historical Collections did not come under the writer's observation until after this paper was substantially complete.

kaskia, the great fortress of Fort Chartres, and the little hamlets which clustered about it. On the Arkansas River was the Arkansas Post, the oldest white village in the Mississippi Valley, and on the west bank of the Mississippi was the village of Ste. Genevieve. When St. Louis was founded these were all of the settlements in the Mississippi Valley, excepting New Orleans and the few straggling villages near the coast of the Gulf of Mexico.

A fort had been built and maintained for a few years on the Missouri River, some two hundred and fifty miles above its mouth, in what is now Carroll County, and another was still in existence near the mouth of the Kaw. Daring *voyageurs* had ascended the Missouri to beyond the Platte, and others had crossed the plains to Santa Fe. But beyond this, the western country was practically unexplored and its people unknown.

The life of a man engaged in business in early St. Louis bore as little resemblance to that of the merchant of today as did the country in which he lived to that which we know at the present time.

The trade of the villages was insignificant. It was into the depths of the wilderness that the merchant must go to barter his wares. He must hunt out tribes, the existence of which he knew only by rumor. What might be his reception by these capricious people of the forests and the plains could never be foretold. His chances to perish or to prosper were about evenly balanced. Yet such was the charm of the free and adventurous life in the wilds, such was the delight in braving the ever-present dangers, and so great were the substantial rewards of success, that there was never a lack of men ready to lead or to follow. It was these men who were the real pathfinders. From the Mississippi to the depths of the mountains and from Canada to Mexico, the St. Louis traders were the pioneers.

They spied out the whole land, and taught the inhabitants the power of the white man.

Among these men, by no means the least notable figure, was that of Manuel de Lisa.[2]

The high character and great boldness of this man, the importance of his work, the atmosphere of romance which surrounds his adventures, the men with whom he was associated and the fact that he was the pioneer white resident of the country which is now comprised in the States of Montana and the Dakotas, make it surprising that the story of his life is so little known.

It is stated upon his tombstone in Bellefontaine Cemetery in St. Louis that Lisa was born at New Orleans, 8 September, 1772.[3]

His parents were Christoval de Lisa, a native of the City of Murcia, in Spain, and Maria Ignacia Rodriguez, who was born in St. Augustine, Florida. Where the marriage of his parents took place has not been learned.

Christoval de Lisa came to Louisiana at the time the Spanish took possession of the country, coming no doubt with O'Reilly, "he being then in the service of Spain, and died in the service."[4]

[2] For a time after becoming a resident of St. Louis, Lisa signed his name Manuel de Lisa. Later he dropped the *de* in his signature to business documents, retaining it in others. Finally he dropped the *de* altogether. The pronunciation of the name seems to have been Lee-saw.

[3] In his petition to Gov. Trudeau (hereafter mentioned), for a grant of land to his brother Joachim, he speaks of Joachim as his elder brother (*su hermano mayor*). The church register at New Orleans gives the date of the birth of Joachim de Lisa as 21 December, 1774, from which it follows that the date given upon Lisa's tombstone must be erroneous. The name of Manuel Lisa does not appear in the New Orleans church register.

[4] Testimony of Eugenio Alvarez, Public Document, No. 59, House of Representatives, 24th Congress, 1st Session, p. 120. There is no record in the church register at New Orleans of the burial of either Christoval de Lisa or his wife

The story of Manuel Lisa's early youth may become known when the archives at New Orleans and in Spain are made public; until then it must remain unwritten. It is safe to assume, however, that it was not commonplace.

Brackenridge says[5] that he was a sea captain. But this is manifestly erroneous, for when he was not above twenty years old he was at New Madrid, in charge of a trading boat, and described himself as a merchant (*negociant*) of New Orleans.[6]

Two years later, Lisa was again at New Madrid, returning from a trading expedition on the Wabash. A passenger, one Louis Dubois, had fallen overboard from the vessel of which Lisa was the *bourgeois,* or commander, and had been drowned. The *bourgeois* and his *engagés* made affidavit to the facts, and to an inventory of the property of the deceased which was on board, and of the letters with which he had been intrusted for carriage.[7]

From New Madrid Lisa came to St. Louis and, on 5 September, 1798, in the presence of Governor Trudeau, he entered into a contract with Joseph Roubidou.[8] No earlier record of his presence in St. Louis is to be found. He returned the next summer and made[9]

[5] *Views of Louisiana; Together with a Journal of a Voyage Up the Missouri River in* 1811. By H. M. Brackenridge, Esq., Pittsburgh, 1814, p. 200.

[6] This appears from a mortgage which he gave upon the "*berge*" and its cargo of peltries to Donna Marie Catherine Sarasin, widow of Don Louis Marquet, to secure the repayment of four hundred and sixty *piastres gourdes* upon arrival at New Orleans. The *berge* is described in the mortgage as being ready to depart on its voyage, and it is recited that the Donna and her daughter were to be passengers thereon.

[7] The papers from which the foregoing information was derived were kindly furnished by Hon. Louis Houck.

[8] This contract is in the archies of the Missouri Historical Society.

[9] Testimony of Jean P. Cabanné, Pub. Doc. No. 59, cited above, p. 349.

petition to Governor Trudeau for a grant of land, as follows:

"To the Lieutenant Governor:

"Don Manuel de Lisa, merchant of New Orleans, for the present in this town of St. Louis, with due respect represents to you that it being his intention to establish himself in this country with his family,[10] which is now ascending the river in a boat of his own, therefore the petitioner wishes to obtain a concession for six thousand arpens of land in superficie upon one of the banks of the River Missouri, in a place where may be found some small creek emptying into the said river, in order to facilitate the raising of cattle, and, with time, to be able to make shipments of salted, as well as dried meat, to the capital . . .

This petition is dated, "St. Louis, 16th July, 1799," and signed "Manuel de Lisa." At the same time he petitioned for a like concession to his elder brother, Don Joachim de Lisa, stating that his brother wished

[10] Just who composed Lisa's family at this time is not known. In Edwards' *Great West* (p. 303) it is said that, "His first wife had long been a prisoner with her child among the Indians, until her release was procured by General Harrison. Her husband had been killed at the same time that she was taken captive. Manuel Lisa saw her and her child, after she had regained her freedom, and pitying her misfortunes and destitution—for the charm of beauty had all fled—he married her; gave a luxurious home to herself and daughter, and treated both in the most affectionate manner until their death." The wife's name, following the French fashion of using the maiden and not the married name, was Charles. Her first name was Mary, though she often signs it Polly. Her first husband's name was Chew. There was a Canadian family by the name of Charles, but it is probable that she was of Virginian stock. Her daughter, spoken of by Edwards, died on 22 February, 1809. Her death is chronicled in the Missouri Gazette of that date as follows:

"Died this morning about ten o'clock, Miss Sally Chew, *aet* 16, daughter of Madame Manuel Lisa, after a distressing illness of about twelve days."

In the Cathedral Parish Register, she is designated, "Salé Manuel Lissa." There was another daughter called in the register "Eulalie Manuel Lisa," who died 10 February, 1818. There is no record of her baptism in the register, and it is likely that she was Lisa's first born child, and was one of the family who came up the river.

"to follow the petitioner and settle himself in the same place where the petitioner's residence has to be."[11] Both petitions were granted by the Governor, and the grants were many years after confirmed by Congress. Joachim Lisa came to St. Louis in 1800, and remained until 1804, when he returned to New Orleans.[12] He gained no place in Missouri history.

Lisa prepared for the coming of his family to St. Louis by buying a home for them on the west side of the *Rue d'Eglise* (Second street), in St. Louis. The house was at the southwest corner of Second and Spruce streets, the lot being the north half of City Block fifty-five.

Jean Baptiste Lorin, *père,* testified[13] that he sold the property one year before the *Année de la Picotté* (the year of the smallpox, 1801), but the deed shows that the sale was made 11 July, 1799.

Lisa's first care seems to have been to look after his fences, in the literal meaning of the words. He testified in 1806, in support of the claim of Antoine Soulard and Jacques St. Vrain to a grant of land at the mouth of the Missouri, in what is now St. Louis County, "that in the month of October, 1799, he went on said land, having first obtained leave from claimants, to cut rails; that he remained there about two months."[14]

But it was not farming or cattle raising that brought Lisa to Missouri. In this same year he, with a number of others, presented a memorial to the Governor protesting against the monopoly enjoyed by the Company of the Missouri.[15]

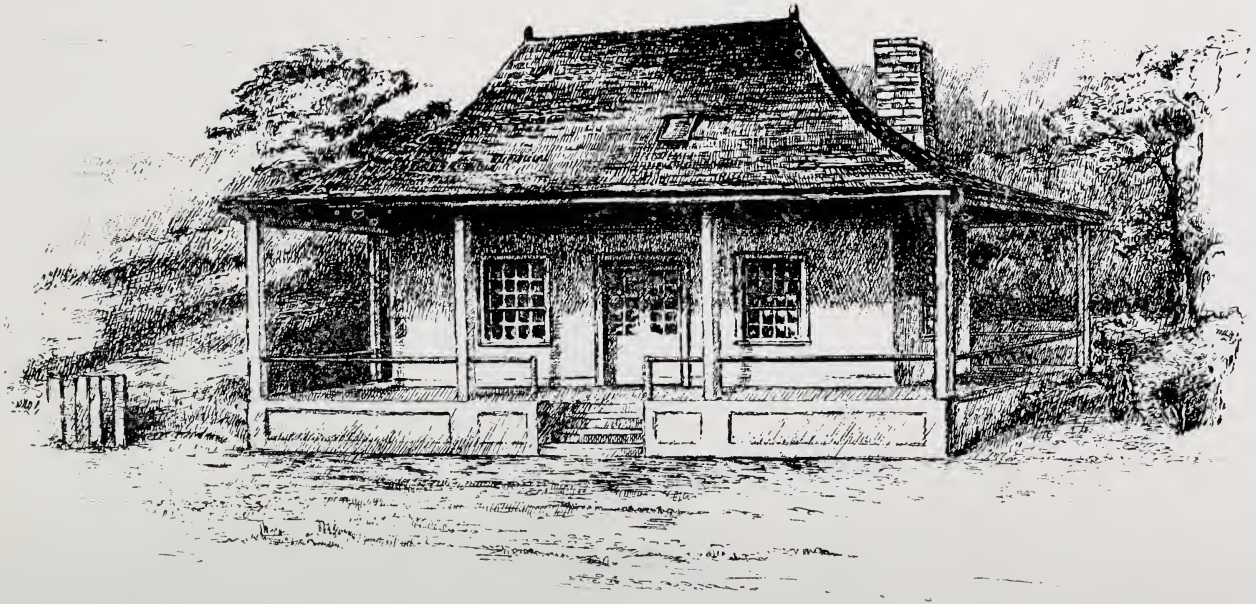
[11] These petitions are found in Pub. Doc. No. 59, cited above, at pages 129 and 347.

[12] Testimony of Jean P. Cabanné, Pub. Doc. No. 59, cited above, p. 348.

[13] 1 Hunt's Minutes, in archives Mo. Historical Society, p. 216.

[14] 17 American State Papers, Public Lands. Vol. II, p. 534.

[15] This was the "*Compagnie de Comerce pour la Decouverte des Nations du haut du Missouri,*" organized 12 May, 1794. It was or-



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LISA HOUSE.

They argued that "the trade in peltries, the sole and only resource which for a long time has supported the commerce of this country, being forbidden to the greater part of the citizens, must necessarily involve the ruin of the merchants, who cannot hope to make a return to the metropolis, since they are deprived of the only commodity which they could introduce there." This monopoly, the memorialists says, has greatly diminished the fur trade and paralyzed commerce, and the petitioners urge that if this fur trade were left free there would be an abundance of business and a greater consumption of merchandise. Finally they pray that this trade monopoly be abolished, and "general freedom of commerce restored." The petition, however, was not granted.

In the petition presented by Lisa for a grant of land to his brother he gives as a reason why the grant should be made that his brother wishes to follow him, "and settle himself in the same place where petitioner's residence has to be." Why Lisa's residence had to be in Missouri has been the subject of much unavailing speculation. It has generally been assumed that it was a grant of the Osage trade that brought Lisa to St. Louis, but lately discovered evidence shows that the assumption is unfounded. There is some reason for believing that Lisa made his home here because of some trade arrangements, which he had entered into with Charles Sanguinet and Gregoire Sarpy. Later

ganized at a meeting called by Clamorgan, "*Sindic du Comerce*, with the approval and under the auspices of Governor Trudeau. There were present *Messieurs Reilhe*, Papin, Yosti, *Motard*, *Sanguinet*, *Vasquez*, Berald Sarpy, Cerré, Roy, *Saint Cyr*, Lecompte, Andreville, Vincent Bouis, LaFleur, *Dubreuil*, Marie, Labadie, Chouteau, *aine*, *Robidou*, Chauvin, Colete, *Durocher*, LaVale, Lajoie, Chouteau, *cadet*, Gratiot, Delor, Sarpy and *Clamorgan*. The proposition did not meet with general favor, and those gentlemen only whose names are printed in italics, and Governor Trudeau, took part in the Company. See further about this Company in Billon's Annals, 1764-1804, p. 283.

a grant of the Osage trade was obtained by them. This trade was of such importance to St. Louis that it will not, perhaps, be without interest to take a glance at its history.

Prior to 1794, the control of the trade with the Osages was one of the perquisites of the Lieutenant-Governor at St. Louis. That is, no person was allowed to take part in the trade without a special license, for which he either paid a fee to the Lieutenant-Governor or made him a sharer in the profits. It was necessary for him to eke out in this way the meager salary which he received from the royal treasury. In 1794 the Osages had become more than usually troublesome, and were committing depredations on the whites all the way from St. Louis to Nachitoches, so that the inhabitants scarcely dared to leave the settlements to cultivate the field or to hunt. To restrain them, it was considered necessary to establish a fort on a height overlooking their principal village, which was called Nion-Chou. Auguste Chouteau offered to build the fort and to maintain there a garrison of twenty men, under the command of his brother, Pierre Chouteau, in consideration of a grant of the exclusive trade with the tribe for six years, and the annual payment to him of two thousand dollars, with which to pay the garrison. This offer was accepted and the grant made, to expire in 1800. The Chouteaus built a fort, as was required by the contract, which was named Fort Carondelet, in honor of the Governor. It was situated on the Osage River, at a point now called Halley's Bluff, in Vernon County, Missouri.[16]

Just what happened with relation to the Osage trade when this contract expired is not disclosed, but there is reason for believing that the Chouteaus retained control until the grant was made to Lisa.

[16] 2 Coues's *Expedition of Z. M. Pike*, p. 384.

For the first years of his residence in St. Louis documentary evidence of Lisa's operations is very scanty. There are a few bills in existence which show that he was engaged in the retail trade, and from the record of a law suit of Robert McClellan against Lisa, and suits by Lisa and by Lisa and Benoist against McClellan, it appears that he was about this time also engaged in furnishing outfits for the Indian trade. The suits against McClellan were for goods furnished, and the suit of McClellan against Lisa was for breach of contract, in failing to furnish merchantable goods of the kind and quality usually supplied by the Mackinac merchants. This litigation resulted in judgments against McClellan,[17] and it may have been the cause of the bitter enmity which McClellan afterwards displayed towards Lisa.

A letter of Morales to Governor Delassus, under date 27 August, 1801, shows that Lisa, in connection with Don Carlos Sanguinet, was having some dealings with the Government relating to the Department of Guides, but what they were does not appear. Other letters of Morales to Delassus show that Lisa endeavored to obtain the contract from the government for supplying provisions for "the army"—the soldiers at Saint Louis —but the contract "for the provisions that the King may need for that post for the period of one year" was relet to Auguste Chouteau, not without some ill feeling being manifested by Governor Delassus against Lisa.[18]

In March, 1803, Lisa addressed a protest to Governor Delassus, in the name of Manuel de Lisa and Company, in which he says:

"That in the preceding year a petition was presented to the Governor General of this province, earnestly re-

[17] Record book of the General Court of the Territory of Louisiana, Vol. 1, pp.

[18] Chouteau Collection of Spanish Archives in possession of Missouri Historical Society.

questing him to grant us an exclusive trade privilege for a term of five consecutive years, stating in said document that we would build at our expense a water mill to make flour, this mill to have two runs of stones, equipped after the manner of those of the Anglo-Americans; at the same time we stated in the mentioned petition that we would make a donation of one thousand dollars to the King, to be credited to the royal treasury for use in repairing the fort. For this generous offer, and calling the attention of the Governor to the fact that this would be a general good and would be of benefit to all the people, he has granted us the exclusive privilege of trade, which we requested, with the Great and Little Osages, who are located at mid-distance of the Missouri River (*medio del Rio Misoury*), about forty leagues from its mouth, with power to equip, trade and facilitate by every means our commerce with the savages of that river."[19]

Lisa complains that one Joseph Ortiz had intruded into the trade by sending his son and two men with a canoe load of whiskey (*aguardt*) to be sold to the traders and hunters for peltries, and that upon the facts being presented to the Governor, his answer had shown the little or no justice that they were to receive from him, and says further:

"Knowing that your intention at all times has been to injure us and give us sufficient and unequivocal proofs of the antagonism you have towards us in matters pertaining to the trade of the Missouri; therefore we are compelled to appeal to the General Judge for our well-founded justice, as through his pious intentions and generous Spanish soul he will grant us justice."

Governor Delassus was so outraged at the language used to him that he at once caused Lisa to be locked up in the calaboose. The matter was submitted to Governor Salcedo at New Orleans. He approved of the action of Delassus, and directed him to inform Lisa "that in future he must behave himself with respect

[19] Spanish Archives, Missouri Historical Society.

and moderation, as he ought to do, otherwise different dispositions will be taken for correction and punishment.''[20]

Lisa's imprisonment was not of long duration. On 23 May, 1803, he was at Ste. Genevieve where the commandant, Don Francois Vallé, was his friend. He was then on his way to New Orleans.

About this same time Auguste Chouteau made a claim against ''the partners of the trade of the Osage Nation.'' In this connection it appeared that Lisa's associates were Gregoire Sarpy, Francois M. Benoit and Charles Sanguinet. They stated that they explored together the posts of the Osages, each one furnishing his individual part, but assuming no responsibility for each other.[21]

Lisa did not find the Osage trade like a ripe plum, ready for his hand. The Chouteaus had control of it for so many years that they were not disposed to yield it up to an interloper, as Lisa must have to them seemed to be. They showed no disrespect to the government and acknowledged Lisa's right under his grant. That grant was of the exclusive right to trade with the Osages on the waters of the Missouri River. There were no Osages anywhere else. But Pierre Chouteau,[22]

[20] Chouteau Collection of Spanish Archives.

[21] Billon's Annals, 1764-1804, p. 335. But later they brought suit as partner against John Day, of Astoria fame, upon a note given them by him, and recovered judgment.

[22] Pierre Chouteau was born at New Orleans, 10 October, 1758. He came to St. Louis in September, 1764, and he died there, 10 July, 1849. He testified in 1833, that he was among the Indians for thirty years, during which time he made only short stays in St. Louis. In 1804, he was appointed by President Jefferson United States Agent for the Osages, which position he held for a long time.

Some years after the transfer of the country he retired from active business and devoted himself to the care of his large estate in and about St. Louis. He served for a time in the Missouri militia in which he held the rank of major. He was twice married, first to Pelagie Kiersereau, and, second, to Brigite, daughter of Francois Saucier. He had nine children—eight sons and one daughter.

who had the right to trade with the Indians on the Arkansas, induced a large portion of the Osage Nation to remove from their old territory and establish themselves on the river last named. This separation of the Osages lasted for many years; finally they were reunited.[23]

The transfer of Upper Louisiana to the United States, which took place at St. Louis, 10 March, 1804, put an end to Lisa's monopoly. Without exclusive rights, and with Pierre Chouteau holding the position of United States Indian Agent for the Osages, his chances for success in the Osage trade were small. But he did not give up until the influence of the chief representative of the new government was thrown into the scale against him. In 1805, General James Wilkinson was appointed Governor, and he appears to have set himself against Lisa from the beginning. What is known of Wilkinson's attitude is drawn from his correspondence with Captain Pike and from Pike's Narrative. In 1806 Pike was sent by Wilkinson on an exploring trip to the westward; he went up the Missouri to the Osage River, and up that river to the Osage villages, the seat of Lisa's trade. Lisa brought himself into conflict with the party at the outset. Pike had employed Baronet Vasquez, of the well-known St. Louis family of that name, to go with him as interpreter. Vasquez had been in Lisa's employ and was in his debt. Lisa adopted a method, which was long in vogue in St. Louis, of forcing payment by a departing *voyageur* by causing his arrest and forcing him to draw upon his employer for means to meet his obligation. He caused Vasquez to be arrested at St. Charles on civil process for debt; bond was given, however, and he proceeded on the journey. When Pike reached a point on the

[23] Long's *Expedition to the Rocky Mountains*, Thwaites' Ed. Vol. 3, p. 280; *The Expeditions of Zebulon M. Pike*, Coues's Ed., Vol. 2, p. 559. See also, Lewis and Clark, under date, 26 May, 1804.

Osage River in what is now St. Clair County, he noted in his journal the passing of the place where, in 1805, the Osage chief, Bel Oiseau, and others, were killed by the Sacs in a boat of Lisa's on the way to St. Louis.[23a]

Three days later Pike reached "the place where Manuel de Lisa had his establishment," near where the Chouteaus had built Fort Carondelet, not a vestige of which was then remaining, though four small cannon which had been taken from the fort were found among the Indians. There were at the Osage village three men who had been sent there by Lisa, Jean Baptiste Duchouquette being the leader. Pike detained Duchouquette, as he says, "he having no passport," and took his deposition as to the manner in which he was employed by Lisa. Douchouquette's story was a very innocent one; he testified he had come to collect some debts owing to Lisa; that he had started with some presents for the chief, but that by an unhappy accident they had lost everything in the boat except his (Duchouquette's) gun; that he had bought some ammunition from Monsieur Macclellan (whom he met on the river), to enable him to continue his voyage; that Lisa had told him to have it announced by Noel Saugrain that he and M. Sylvester Labbadie would come in a short time with a lot of merchandise.[24]

After Pike had been gone from the village for about a day, he was informed by a young Indian runner, who overtook him, that Mr. C. Chouteau[25] had arrived at the

[23] 2 Pike's Expeditions, Coues's Ed., p. 384.

[24] This affidavit of Duchouquette's is printed in 13 *American Historical Review*, at page 823. It was recently found in Mexico by Professor Bolton.

[25] This was Pierre Chouteau, Jr., known as Cadet, or usually, by the people, as "Caddy." He was as this designation indicates, the second son. His father was Pierre Chouteau, and his mother Pelagie Kiersereau, Major Chouteau's first wife. He was born at St. Louis 19 January, 1789; married, 15 June, 1818, his cousin Emelie Gratiot, and died 6 October, 1865. He was a member of the con-

towns. Pike says, "I conceived it proper for me to return, which I did. . . . Mr. Chouteau gave us all the news, after which I scrawled a letter to the general and my friends." The difference in Pike's feeling toward Lisa and Chouteau is very evident. With Chouteau there is no question as to a passport. Lisa's action in causing the arrest of Vasquez might be taken as a sufficient explanation, were it not that it appears that Chouteau had also, in some way, incurred disfavor at headquarters. A letter from General Wilkinson to Pike, dated at Bellefontaine, 18 July, 1806, contains the following: "I have received your letter of yesterday, and concerning your interpreter, without date. I had taken arrangements to secure Bennette (Baronet) when he appeared here and I have now become his security. Manuel is a black Spaniard. He dined here yesterday and left here this morning before the arrival of your letter—this was well for him . . . I shall dress Manuel and Cadet *aussi*. I will teach them how to interrupt national movements by their despicable intrigues."[26]

The general was a man well qualified to know an "intrigue" when he saw it, but he was hardly justified in calling Lisa's attempt to collect a debt by the ordinary process of law an intrigue. Wilkinson had issued a proclamation the year before (1805), prohibiting all persons from entering the Indian country except by permission under his hand.[27]

No statute of the United States or of the territory has been found by which he was given any authority to do this. If he was administering the Spanish law, then Lisa's rights under that law were entitled to be

vention that framed the first constitution of the State of Missouri, a business man of great activity and good judgment, and a citizen who deserved and received the greatest honor and respect.

[26] 13 *American Historical Review*, 814.

[27] 13 *American Historical Review*, 819.

respected. But Wilkinson carried matters with a high hand. He instructed Pike that if he found on his route any persons without a proper license or passport he was to arrest them and dispose of their property "as the law directs."[28]

At that time, and for many years later, the only law in force to the westward of St. Louis was that which was made, as the occasion arose, by the stronger for the weaker.

Wilkinson, on 6 August, 1806, wrote another letter to Pike in which his determination to crush Lisa is clearly apparent.

In that letter he says:

"It is reduced to a certainty that Manuel de Lisa and a society of which he is the ostensible leader have determined on a project to open some commercial intercourse with Santa Fe, and as this may lead to a connection injurious to the United States, and will, I understand, be attempted without the sanction of law or the permission of the executive, you must do what you can consistently to defeat the plan. No good can be derived to the United States from such a project, because the prosecution of it will depend entirely on the Spaniards, and they will not permit it, unless to serve their political, as well as their personal, interests. I am informed that the ensuing autumn and winter will be employed in reconnoitering and opening a connection with the Tetaus (Comanches), Panis (Pawnees), etc., that this fall or the next winter, a grand magazine is to be established at the Osage towns, where these operations will commence; that Lisa is to be the active agent, having formed a connection with the Tetaus. This will carry forward their merchandise within three or four days' travel of the Spanish settlements, where they will deposit under guard of 300 Tetaus. Lisa will then go forward with four or five attendants, taking with him some jewelry and fine goods. With those he will visit the Governor, to whom he will make presents, and implore his pity by a fine tale of sufferings

[28] 2 Pike's Expeditions, Soues's Ed., 566.

which have been endured by the change of government; that they are left here, with the goods to be sure, but not a dollar's worth of bullion, and therefore they have adventured to see him for the purpose of praying his leave for the introduction of their property into the province. If he consents, then the whole of the goods will be carried forwards; if he refuses, then Lisa will invite some of his countrymen to accompany him to his deposit, and having there exposed to them his merchandise, he will endeavor to open a forced or clandestine trade; for he observes the Spaniards will not dare attack his camp. Here you have the plan; and you must take all prudent and lawful means to blow it up.''[29]

Wilkinson details Lisa's plans with such particularity (with what accuracy cannot be known), as to induce the belief that his information had been obtained from some one in Lisa's confidence. However that may be, it is not unlikely that Lisa's foreseeing mind had conceived the idea of opening up trade with New Mexico, a trade which a few years later, under other leadership, became of great importance.

But the attitude of Wilkinson barred the way at this time. Against such official opposition success was not to be hoped for either in the Osage trade or the New Mexican project. It was Lisa's nature to be stimulated by adverse circumstances to more vigorous endeavors. In all his actions he showed his faith in the truth of the saying in Don Quixote, "*Que un bueno corazon quebranta mala ventura,*"—a good heart breaks bad fortune. He turned at once to a new field.

The return of Lewis and Clark in 1806 attracted the attention of the people of the United States to the

[29] 2 Coues's Pike, 573; 13 American Historical Review, 800. This letter was printed in the appendix to Pike's account of this expeditions, published in 1810, without Lisa's name. Recently, however, Pike's papers have been discovered in the archives of Mexico by Professor Herbert M. Bolton, and the letter is published in full in the Historical Review as above cited.

Missouri River. To the merchants and traders of St. Louis it was an old story. That river had been navigated by Frenchmen for an hundred years and more. They made their voyages in small parties, and from time to time built temporary trading posts, but had attempted no permanent establishments. Major Thomas Biddle characterized them as "vagrant hunters and traders."

When Lisa was driven to consider the Missouri as the one available direction open to him, he saw at once the futility of the old methods, and the probabilities of great success for an enterprise conducted upon sound business principles. His plan was to establish at convenient situations strong permanent forts which should serve as trading houses, and each of which should be a rendezvous for white hunters and trappers in his employ, and places of deposit for the peltries and furs gathered by them.

He undertook the matter with the untiring energy that marked all his actions. On 19 April, 1807, he started his first expedition up the Missouri River.[30] This

[30] The expedition left St. Louis on that day. Lisa remained as late as 28 April. He joined the expedition probably at St. Charles. John Dunn Hunter (*Memoirs of a Captivity Among the Indians of North America.* By John Dunn Hunter, London, 1824, p. 83) tells a story, which if true, might be authority for the statement that this was not Lisa's first voyage up the Missouri. He gives no dates. "There was at this time," he says, "among the Osages, a trader named Manuel Lisa, a Spaniard or half Indian, who was now bound on a trading expedition up the Missouri, in company with a Mr. McLane, another trader, and several Spanish, French and American boatmen. This Manuel Lisa was an artful, cunning man; he had several private interviews with me, and used every argument in his power to persuade me to accompany him on his intended voyage. I finally concluded to go with him, on condition that some of the Kansas and Osages from White Hair's tribe, would join the party. which they consented to, and about twenty of us, in addition to the hunting party, descended the Osage river and proceeded up the Missouri, in boats constructed for the purpose."

Hunter tells of their journey up the river until finally they

was for Lisa the beginning of a work in which he spent the remainder of his life, and by which he linked his name with that mighty stream for all time coming.

This expedition is generally known as that of Lisa and Drouillard,[31] but Drouillard was the representative or substitute for William Morrison and Pierre Menard of Kaskaskia, who joined with Lisa in furnishing the capital employed, which is said to have been $16,000.[32] The second in command under Lisa was Benito Vasquez, the younger brother of Pike's interpreter, and the party was composed of forty-two men. The historical interest and importance of this expedition will, perhaps, justify the recording of the names, so far as they are known, of the persons engaged. Besides Lisa, Drouillard and Vasquez, there were the following: Etienne Brant, Joseph Brazeau, Francois Bouché, Jean Baptiste Bouché Francois Colas dit Sausquartier, —— Cousin, Jean Baptiste Champlain, *fils,* Pierre Deseve, Antoine Dubreuil, Joseph Laderoute dit Cassé, Jean Lafargue, Jean Baptiste Lusignan, John McPherson, Jean Baptiste Mayette, Calliste Montardy, Jean Muréz, Daniel Murray (who lived at the time at Florissant), ——Poitras, John Potts, Charles Sanguinet, *fils,* and Peter Wiser. Antoine Bissonet was one of the original party, but, having deserted near the mouth of the Osage

reached the neighborhood of the Great Falls. His account of Lisa's dealings with the Indians whom they encountered would indicate that this was his first acquaintance with them.

No less person than Lewis Cass has stigmatized Hunter's book as a romance, and this story of Lisa's voyage is wholly without corroboration.

[31] George Drouillard was of French and Shawnee parentage. He crossed the continent with Lewis and Clark, and Lewis described him as "a man of much merit, peculiarly useful from his knowledge of the language of gesticulation, and his uncommon skill as a hunter and woodsman." He was killed by the Blackfoot Indians near the Three Forks of the Missouri in the spring of 1810.

[32] Billon's Annals, 1804-1821.

River, he was shot by Drouillard, who went in search of him, and he died shortly after. There is reason for believing that Amos Richardson was also one of the original party, but the evidence is not sufficient to warrant the addition of his name to the list. Francois Lecompt "habitant de la Madelain," was met at the Kansas River, 3 June, 1807, and engaged for three years, for which he was to receive $500. The witnesses to his contract were Robert McClellan and François Hortiz.

John Colter joined the party at the mouth of the Platte. And somewhere, further up the river, Forest Handcock, of St. Louis and Boonslick, was enlisted and probably —— Dickson.[33]

The contract between Jean Baptiste Bouché, of Carondelet, (*"habitant de void pouche"*) of the one part, and Lisa and Drouillard of the other part, is still extant. It bears date 7 April, 1807. Bouché agrees with his employers to go with them to the Missouri or other places where they might conduct him or send him to hunt or trade, for three consecutive years, for which he was to receive six hundred and sixty-six *piastres gourdes,* or that value in shaved (*rayé*) deer skins, at three pounds a *piastre.* Should they return to St. Louis before the expiration of three years he was to be paid *pro rata* for the time spent in the service. The contract was a losing one for the employers. Bouché proved to be a *mauvais sujet,* intractable and untrustworthy. His bad conduct was, however, the occasion of Lisa's preparing a written statement of some of the occurrences of the voyage, which, together with Brackenridge's account, derived from his conversations with Lisa, are the main sources of information concerning it. Excepting the unfortunate affair of Bissonet's, the party reached the "dangerous neighborhood of the

[33] See *Lewis & Clark,* under date, 12 June, 1806.

Scioux Nation of Indians'' in the latter part of July, without any serious mishap. There Bouché absented himself, contrary to orders, and went hunting. This caused a delay of four days and occasioned much anxiety and discomfort. No Sioux were encountered, however, and the expedition passed that danger point in safety. But it was not so fortunate at the Arikara villages. Lisa had there to show all his generalship.

''Two or three hundred warriors were drawn up, and on his approach, such as had fire arms fired a volley before his boat, to indicate the place where he should land. He accordingly put to shore, but instantly made it known that no one of them was to enter his boat; the chiefs at the same time appointed warriors to stand guard and keep off the crowd. The women, who always trade amongst these nations, came to the beach with bags of corn which they offered; an Indian rushed forward, cut open the bag with his knife, while the women took to flight. Lisa, who was perfectly acquainted with the Indian character, knowing that the least appearance of alarm would be dangerous, instantly called his men to arms, pointed a couple of swivels which were fixed on his boats, and made every preparation for defense. The Indians perceiving this dispersed in confusion; after some time the chiefs approached with pipes of peace extended before them in their hands. Lisa making signs of reconciliation, they came to him and, according to their custom, stroked him on the shoulders, begging him not to be displeased, declaring that the Indian who had offended him was considered a bad man. This had a good effect, and enabled him to proceed on his voyage without further molestation.[34]

Lisa's party was not the only one to ascend the river that summer. Several others left St. Louis together, a few weeks after his departure. Among them was one made up of a detachment of soldiers under the command of Ensign Nathaniel Pryor.[35] which was escort-

[34] Brackenridge, *Views of Louisiana, Etc.*, p. 90.

[35] Nathaniel Pryor was a Kentuckian, and a cousin of Sergeant Charles Floyd of the Lewis and Clark party. General James, who

ing to his home the Mandan chief, Shahaka, whom Lewis and Clark had brought down the river in order that he might visit President Jefferson. Another was a trading party under the leadership of Pierre Chouteau, Lisa's ancient rival. These two parties were the only ones that went as far up as the Arickara villages.[36] There they were vigorously attacked by the Indians, had several men badly wounded, and two of Chouteau's men were killed. In consequence they were compelled to retreat, and they returned to St. Louis. Pryor wrote an account of the affair to General Clark, in which he said:

"A Mandane woman, who had been a captive for several years, came on board, from whom I obtained information which could probably have been derived from no other quarter.

She informed me that Manuel Lisa, a St. Louis trader, had passed up sometime before; that he had given the Ricaras, through *compulsion,* I conjecture, a number of guns and a considerable quantity of powder and ball. This man, you recollect, obtained a license from Mr. (Frederick) Bates before your arrival and before the plan which the government had adopted with

met him among the Osages in 1821, says, "He was a sergeant in Lewis and Clark's expedition, and a captain at the battle of New Orleans. On the reduction of the army after the war, he was discharged to make way for some parlor soldier and sunshine patriot, and turned out in his old age upon the 'world's wide common.' I found him here among the Osages, with whom he had taken refuge from his country's ingratitude, and was living as one of their tribe." He was at one time a trader among the Osages, being supplied with goods by Abraham Gallatin of St. Louis, a brother of Albert Gallatin. He died before 22 October, 1831, leaving debts, but no estate other than a couple of hundred dollars which was in the hands of Governor Clark. He left no known heirs. There is a town in Oklahoma named for him.

[36] These villages were situated on the west bank of the Missouri about six miles above the mouth of Grand River, in what is now Boreman County, South Dakota. The river, at this point, runs from east to west, so that the villages were on the north shore. (Information kindly given by Doane Robinson, Esq.)

respect to the Mandane was known at St. Louis. He was, however, still at St. Charles, and it is not forgotten that Mr. Bates, having occasion to visit that village, informed him of the change of arrangements in the upper country, and desired him to remain until my boats should be equipped that he might accompany the expedition.[37]

This, we understood, he had consented to do, and his failure in those engagements has probably obliged him to divert the storm which threatened *his own boat,* by diverting the attention of the Ricaras to *ours.*

He told them, as we learn from this woman, that two boats might be very soon expected; that we had the Mandane chief on board; and that we were to remain for the purposes of trade at their villages. On this, they pillaged him of about half of his goods, and suffered him to pass on, determining in their councils at the same time, to kill him on his return, and to lose no time in preparing to murder the Mandane and his escort as soon as we should arrive.[38]

Brackenridge's account was derived directly from Lisa, and is to be credited in preference to that of the Mandan woman. The erratic ferocity of the Arikaras, as the whites soon learned, needed no incitement from without. Prince Maximilian says that "no tribe has killed so many white men as the Arikaras."

Lisa's next adventure was at the Mandans.

"On his arrival at the first Mandan village he determined to proceed on foot through these villages, which are situated at intervals along the river, in the distance of about twenty miles, while his boats continued to ascend.[39] At this village he held the usual coun-

[37] Mr. DeLand in his *History of the Aborigines of South Dakota* (South Dakota *Historical Collections*), Vol. 3, p. 536, speaks of Pryor's party as a party, too, which he had agreed to accompany. Pryor's words do not justify such a statement"

[38] Annals of Iowa, Vol. 1, 3d series, p. 616.

[39] Brackenridge speaks of Lisa's *boats.* Lisa, himself, in his complaint against Bouché, says, "About this time [25 July] the boat of your petitioner was twice set loose and pushed off from shore in the night time; your petitioner has good reason to believe this

cil with the chiefs, and presented them a few rolls of tobacco and other articles, and was permitted to continue his journey. At the third village his presents were rejected and the chief demanded some powder, which was refused.

Lisa knew that his life was in no danger while his death could not procure them his goods, and resisted their repeated solicitation in a bold and firm manner; he told them that they might kill him, but that his property would be safe. They were finally compelled to accept of such presents as he offered.

A few days after, having passed the Mandans, he espied the Assineboin Nation approaching in a body of four or five thousand souls. These wandering people had learned from their scouts the approach of the traders. The whole prairie, to use his expression, *was red with them;* some on horseback, others on foot, and all painted for war. His situation required the utmost boldness and intrepidity. He charged his swivels and made directly across to the savages, and when he had come within a hundred yards, the match was put, while there was at the same time a general discharge of small arms. This was intended to strike them with terror; the effect was ludicrous; they fell back, tumbled over each other, and fled to the hills with precipitation. A few of the warriors and chiefs only remained. The pipe of peace was presented, and matters concluded amicably. He continued his voyage to the Yellowstone River, which he ascended about one hundred and seventy miles, to the Big Horn River, where he built a trading fort.''[40]

Lisa says that he reached the wintering ground on the twenty-first of November, a month late, and that by reason of the delay he lost the fall hunt. At the

was done by said Bouché to expose your petitioner to the loss of his boat and cargo, which certainly would have been the case had not your petitioner by chance awaked one night and saved her, and another night the said George Drouillard saved the boat and cargo thus let loose." From this it would appear that Lisa had but one boat; and it might also be inferred that there was carelessness in the matter of guard duty.

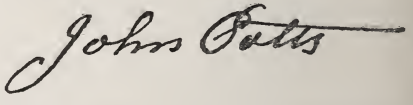
[40] Brackenridge, *Views of Louisiana,* p. 91.

mouth of the Bighorn River, or, as Lisa calls it, the LaCorne, work was at once began upon a trading house, which, when completed, contained two rooms and a loft. A fort was built in the spring of 1808. The name of the fort, as written by Lisa, was "Remon"; but in documents, apparently in the handwriting of Champlain, it is called Fort Raymond.[41]

Of the life at the wintering place but little is known. Colter must have been sent from there, almost immediately upon the arrival of the party, upon his long and lonely journey to the home of the Blackfoot Indians; the journey on which he discovered the wonders of the country long derisively known in St. Louis as "Colter's Hell"—now the Yellowstone Park. The story of one trifling incident of the winter has survived. Etienne Brant was reported to Lisa as having furtively helped himself to whiskey and as having stolen some moccasin awls and some breech cloth. Lisa lost his temper; called Brant a *coquin,* and struck him with his hand, which action of Lisa's was productive of much conversation and some heat in the weeks succeeding.

[41] One of these documents is as follows:

"J'ai reçu de Monsr. Manuel Lisa et Compagnie deux chevaux que m'oblige de lui rendre ici dans le cours de Decembre prochain, si toute fois ils ne meurent pas d'ici au tems susdit, m'obligeant de lui payer a cette epoque la quantite de dix gros Castors de recette pour le loyer de chaque cheval, et s'ils sont voles je m'oblige de les lui payer en entier, c'est a dire, soixante piastres chacun, En foi de quoi j'ai signe le present. Fort Raymond, 7 Juillet, 1808.



Potts was one of Lewis and Clark's men. He was killed by Indians in 1809, while trapping with Colter, and his estate was administered upon at St. Louis by Rufus Easton. The fort was named in honor of Lisa's son Raymond, who was born at St. Louis, 4 December, 1805, and buried there 15 July, 1811. Raymond was, so far as is known, his first born son.

Bouché seems to have kept reasonably quiet during the winter, but in June, 1808, he stirred up an excitement among the men, and induced some of them to make open threats of leaving and going down the river, by telling unfounded stories of the weakness of Lisa's powder.

Lisa left for St. Louis in July. A garrison remained at the fort, but the names or the number of the men left there has not been preserved. Colter and Potts certainly stayed, and probably Wiser also. Lisa reached home on the fifth day of August. He did not go back up the river until the next summer.

During his stay in St. Louis the St. Louis Missouri Fur Company was organized, and when he went up again it was as a partner in that company. St. Louis at that time was in the Territory of Louisiana; Missouri was used in the name of the company to designate the field of operations. It has generally been assumed that the new company was promoted by Lisa. Such may have been the fact, but there is no evidence of it. His undertaking had proved a success. It may be that he wished for more capital in order to extend the business, and for that reason invited others to join with him in the enterprise.

But it is equally consistent with the known facts and the probabilities to assume that he was constrained to take part with others in order to avoid a ruinous competition. The sequence of names in the articles of copartnership (some writers speak of "the charter of the company," but no such thing existed), is possibly significant. It was this way: "Benjamin Wilkinson, Pierre Chouteau, Senior, Manuel Lisa, Augustin Chouteau, Junior, Reuben Lewis, William Clark and Sylvestre Labbadie, all of the town of St. Louis and Territory of Louisiana, and Pierre Menard and William Morrison of the town of Kaskaskia, in the Territory of Indiana, and Andrew Henry of Louisiana." The name of

Dennis Fitzhugh of Louisville, Kentucky, was interlined, but he never took part in the company.[42]

The scheme was a cumbersome one, and it is surprising that Lisa should have agreed to it. With his knowledge of the necessities of the situation, the defects of the plan must have been clearly perceived from the beginning. Each partner was obliged to accompany the expedition in person or send some person approved by a majority of the partners in his place. It was provided that "when the aforesaid expedition shall arrive at or above the Mandan Nation of Indians, each partner accompanying the expedition shall be bound to proceed to and reside at such post or places as may be designated for him by a majority of the company then present, and also when there to do and perform, as far as may be possible, all those duties required of him by such majority of the company." No definite amount of capital was fixed, but each member was required to furnish for the outfit and expenses his equal portion of the sum which the majority decided to be necessary.

The merchandise and horses which Manuel Lisa, Pierre Menard and William Morrison, "lately associated in a trading expedition up the said River Missouri, and have now a fort established on the waters of the Yellowstone River, a branch of the Missoury," have at said fort, is to be accepted by the new company at "one hundred per centum of the first cost," for the merchandise, if undamaged, and thirty dollars for each horse.

The peltries, furs and other property acquired by the company were to be transported to St. Louis and

[42] "Augustin Chouteau" was Auguste Pierre Chouteau, eldest son of Pierre Chouteau. Reuben Lewis was a brother of Governor Meriwether. Andrew Henry lived at the mines, in what is now Washington County, Missouri. Dennis Fitzhugh was a brother-in-law of Gen. William Clark, being the third husband of his youngest sister, Fanny. Benjamin Wilkinson was a nephew of General James Wilkinson, whose conduct towards Lisa has been mentioned above.

there divided equally among the partners. It was agreed that Pierre Chouteau, Manuel Lisa and Pierre Menard were to be the first of the partners permitted to return to St. Louis, but they were required to be back at their posts the next summer; the next members to come down were to be Benjamin Wilkinson and A. P. Chouteau. William Clark was appointed agent of the company to reside at St. Louis, and it was made his duty to receive all property of the company which should be sent down the river, and keep the same until a division should be made. The partnership was to continue for three years.

The first expedition of the new company left St. Louis in June, 1809.[43] In addition to the business of the company, it undertook to carry to his home the Mandan chief, Shehaka, his wife and child. For this service the sum of seven thousand dollars was to be paid by the United States government. By the contract the company was required "to engage and raise one hundred and twenty-five effective men (of whom forty shall be Americans and expert riflemen) who together shall form a body of militia of this Territory, and act in a military capacity." It was further provided that "the command of the said detachment shall be given to Peter Chouteau, the United States agent for the Osage Nation of Indians (who will be specially

[43] Lisa was in St. Louis as late as 9 June, 1809. On that day he signed an agreement submitting to arbitration a dispute between himself and Jacques Clamorgan "relative to the subject of the voyage which the said Clamorgan has just made to the coast of Spain" (*à là cote d' Espagné*), and particularly to decide if there existed between them a copartnership relative to said voyage. The arbitrators chosen by Lisa were Bernard Pratte and Louis Labeaume, and those chosen by Clamorgan were David Delaunay and Marie Philippe Leduc. Their decision was unanimously in Lisa's favor. It is stated in Houck's *History of Missouri* (Vol. 2, p. 60), that Clamorgan was in Mexico in 1808, and it may be that the voyage was to New Spain and not across the ocean. Lisa seems to have been a joint adventurer with Clamorgan.

commissioned and instructed by the Governor for that purpose), until the said expedition shall arrive at the Mandan Nation or villages, and at that place or the last of them, the military functions of the said Chouteau, and the officers appointed under him for this service, shall cease and expire."

In addition to Pierre Chouteau the partners who accompanied the expedition were Lisa, Col. Pierre Menard, Major Andrew Henry, Sylvester Labbadie, Auguste P. Chouteau and Reuben Lewis. William Morrison sent his younger brother, Samuel, in his stead. That Wilkinson did not go appears from the fact that he served on a jury in Judge Lucas's court in August, 1809. He died in February, 1810, on shipboard, while on a voyage from New Orleans to Baltimore. The only account of this expedition written by a participant, is that given by General Thomas James of Illinois, in his book, "*Three Years Among the Indians and Mexicans.*"

General James says:

"The whole party, at starting, consisted of 350 men, of whom about one-half were Americans and the remainder Canadian Frenchmen and Creoles of Kas-Kaskia, St. Louis and other places. The French were all veteran *voyageurs,* thoroughly inured to boating and trapping. Manuel Lisa, called by the men 'Esau,' had enlisted many of them in Detroit for this expedition, and hired them by the year. We Americans were all private adventurers, each on his own hook, and were led into the enterprise by the promises of the company, who agreed to subsist us to the trapping grounds, we helping to navigate the boats, and on our arrival there they were to furnish us each with a rifle and sufficient amunition, six good beaver traps and also four men of their hired French, to be under our individual commands for a period of three years. By the terms of the contract each of us was to divide one-fourth of the profits of our joint labor with the four men thus to be appointed to us. But how we were deceived and taken

in will be seen in the sequel. The 'company' made us the fairest promises in St. Louis, only to break them in the Indian country. Lisa,[44] or Esau, or Manuel, as he was variously called, had the principal command. He was a Spaniard or Mexican by birth, and bore a very bad reputation in the country and among the Americans. He had been on the head waters of the Missouri the year before with a company of about fifty men, and had met with great success in catching beaver and trading with the Indians. * * * I went as steersman or 'captain' of one of the barges, with about twenty-four men, all Americans, under my command. There were thirteen barges and keel boats in all. On my barge I had Dr. Thomas, the surgeon of the company, and Reuben Lewis, brother of Merryweather Lewis, the Governor.

We started from St. Louis in the month of June, A. D., 1809, and ascended the Missouri by rowing, pushing with poles, cordeling or pulling with ropes, warping and sailing. My crew were light-hearted jovial men, with no care or anxiety for the future, and little fear of any danger. In the morning we regularly started by daybreak and stopped generally late at night. The partners, or *bourgoises,* as the French called them, were on the forward barge, with a strong crew of hardy and skilful *voyageurs,* and there Liza and some of his colleagues lorded over the poor fellows most arrogantly, and made them work as if their lives depended on their getting forward with the greatest possible speed. They peremptorily required all the boats to stop in company for the night, and our barge being large and heavily loaded, the crew frequently had great difficulty in overtaking them in the evening. We occasionally had races with some of the forward barges in which my crew of Americans proved themselves equal, in a short race, to their more experienced French competitors. We thus continued with nothing of inter-

[44] James, whose disposition to be fair is evident, says later on: "Much of the ill treatment we afterwards received from them, was probably owing to the reckless assertion of our independence on every occasion and at every difficulty that occurred." He is not quite accurate about his contract; each man was to have one-fifth of the product of his hunting.

est occurring until we passed the Platte. Six weeks of hard labor on our part had been spent when our allotted provisions gave out and we were compelled to live on boiled corn without salt. At the same time all the other boats were well supplied and the gentleman proprietors in the leading barge were faring in the most sumptuous and luxurious manner.[45] The French hands were much better treated on all occasions than the Americans. The former were employed for a long period at stated wages and were accustomed to such service and such men as those in command of them, while we were private adventurers for our own benefit as well as that of the company, who regarded us with suspicion and distrust.

Many Americans on the passage up the river, disgusted with the treatment they had received, fell off in small companies and went back. At Côte Sans Dessein most of them returned. On reaching the Mandan country we numbered about ten Americans, having started from St. Louis with about one hundred and seventy-five and an equal number of French. After passing the Platte river my crew were worn down with hard labor and bad fare. Their boiled corn without salt or meat did not sustain them under the fatigue of navigating the barge, and the contrast between their treatment and that of the French enraged them.

A meeting was the result. The company had, on our barge, thirty barrels of pork; and one morning my crew came to me in a body demanding some of these provisions. I commanded them not to break into the pork without permission, and promised, if they would work and keep up till noon, to procure some for dinner. At noon when we stopped the men rolled up a barrel of pork on to the deck and one of them, named Cheek, bestrided it with a tomahawk, crying out—'Give the word, Captain!' I forbade them, as before, and went ashore to find Lewis, who had left the boat at the beginning of trouble. He said the pork was the company's, and told me not to touch it. I said the men

[45] James does not say that there was any inequality in the original outfits of the boats, and we may well believe from what he does say about the conduct of the Americans that they were not disposed to husband their provisions with any care.

would and should have some of it; and went back to the boat to give the 'word' to Cheek. Lewis hastened to the *bourgeoise* in their barge close by, to give the alarm. I could see them, in their cabin, from the shore where I stood, playing cards and drinking. Lewis entered with the news that 'James' crew were taking the provisions.' Manuel Lisa seized his pistols and ran out followed by the other partners. 'What the devil,' said he to me, 'is the matter with you and your men?' 'We are starving,' said I, 'and we must have something better than boiled corn.' At the same time Cheek was brandishing his tomahawk over the pork barrel, and clamoring for the 'word.' 'Shall I break it open, Captain, speak the word,' he cried. While the rest of my crew were drawn up in line on the boat, with rifles, ready for action. The gentlemen *bourgeoise* yielded before this determined array, and gave us a large supply of pork; that is, as much as we pleased to take. A few days after this we stopped to clean out the barges, and the pork in ours was removed to another and its place supplied with lead. * * * We continued our ascent of the river without any occurrences of importance.

Below Council Bluffs we met Capt. Crooks,[46] agent

[46] This was Ramsay Crooks, afterwards so distinguished in the fur trade. He was born at Greenock, Scotland, 2 January, 1787. He crossed the ocean to Canada in 1803, and came to St. Louis in 1805 or 1806. He became associated with Robert McLellan, and had gone up the river with him, having been outfitted by Silvestre Labbadie and Auguste P. Chouteau *"pour chasse de moities"*—to hunt on shares. Crooks and McLellan followed the Fur Company's expedition up the river, and having trouble with the Indians, attributed it, as we have seen Prior did, to the machinations of Lisa; though Lisa was, most likely, wholly ignorant of their intention to follow. Crooks went with Hunt to Astoria, returning in 1813. Shortly afterwards he became associated with Astor, and was a dominating force in the fur trade for many years. In March, 1825, he married Emelie Pratte, daughter of Gen. Bernard Pratte of St. Louis and niece of Silvestre Labbadie. He died in New York 6 June, 1859, leaving several children surviving.

Robert McLellan was born, probably in what is now Franklin County, Pennsylvania, about 1771. He saw military service under Harmar and Wayne, and was sent to St. Louis in connection with the army soon after the transfer. He presently resigned and enter-

for John J. Astor, and who was trading with the Mohaws (Omahas). Here all the few Americans remaining, with myself, were on the point of returning. By the solicitations and promises of the company we were induced to continue with them."

James tells of the adventures of the party with the various tribes of Indians, which were not materially different from the ordinary experiences of the early trading parties. "We built a fort," he says, "near the Gros-Ventres' (Minnitaree's) village, and unloaded all the larger boats for the purpose of sending them back to the settlements." And this he speaks of as the destination of the party. James went with a party on a trapping expedition and sometime in February, 1810, he reached " 'Manuel's Fort' at the mouth of the Big Horn."

"Here," he says, "I found Cheek, Brown, Dougherty and the rest of my crew rejoicing to see me. I was not a little surprised to find Col. Pierre Menard in command, who was to have returned to St. Louis from the fort at the Gros Ventre village, and Lisa intended to take command of the party on the headwaters of the Missouri. Such was the arrangement at the commencement of the voyage. I soon learned from the men what they supposed to be the cause of the change. The next day after I had left the fort on the Missouri, in the fall, Cheek and several Americans were in the office or *marque* of the company, endeavoring to get their equipments according to contract. Lisa was present. Chouteau's name was mentioned in course of the conversation, when Cheek coolly remarked that if

ed into the Indian trade, at first on the Ohio River and then on the Missouri. Duchouquette in his affidavit mentioned above, speaks of having met "Monsieur McClellan" on his voyage from St. Louis to the Osages, and he was a few weeks later encountered by Lewis and Clark (12 Sept., 1806) on the Missouri between the Kansas and the Platte. McLellan and Crooks had separated prior to the expedition of Hunt, but McLellan, meeting the expedition at its first wintering place, enlisted for the journey. After his return he went into business at Cape Girardeau, Missouri; later he removed to St. Louis and died there 22 November, 1816.

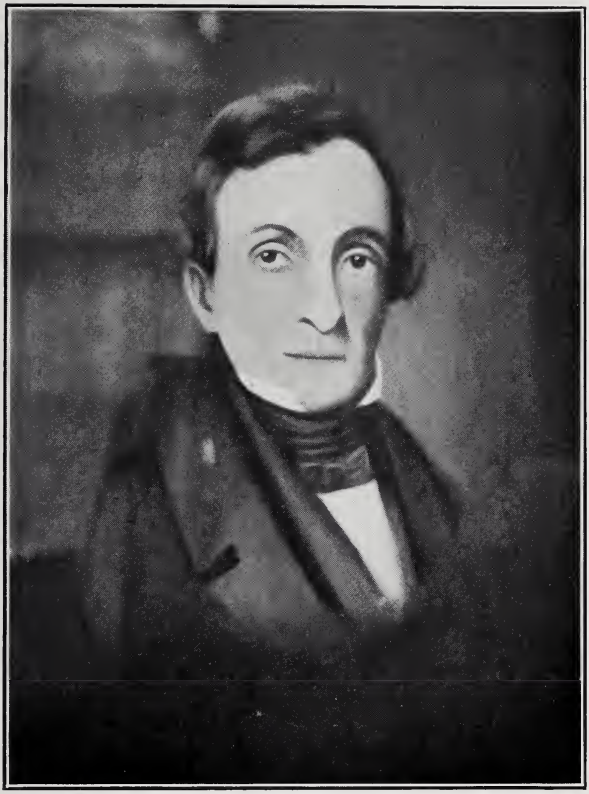
he caught Chouteau a hundred yards from camp he would shoot him. 'Cheek! Cheek!!' exclaimed Lisa, 'mind what you say.' 'I do that,' said Cheek, 'and Lisa, I have heard some of our boys say that if they ever caught you two hundred yards from camp they would shoot you, and if they don't I will. You ought not to expect anything better from the Americans after having treated them with so much meanness, treachery and cruelty as you have. Now Lisa,' continued he, 'you are going to the forks of the Missouri: mark my words, you will never come back alive.' Lisa's cheeks blanched at this bold and reckless speech from a man who always performed his promises, whether good or evil.[47] He returned to St. Louis, and sent up Col. Menard in his place. Col. M. was an honorable, high-minded gentleman, and enjoyed our esteem in a higher degree than any other of the company. Lisa we thoroughly detested and despised both for his acts and his reputation. There were many tales afloat concerning villainies said to have been perpetrated by him on the frontiers. These may have been wholly false or greatly exaggerated, but in his looks there was no deception. Rascality sat on every feature of his dark-complexioned, Mexican face—gleamed from his black, Spanish eyes and seemed enthroned in a forehead villainously low.[48] We were glad to be relieved of his presence.''

Lisa returned to St. Louis in October, 1809. Whether Cheek's threat influenced his actions or not, his return at this time was in accordance with the provisions of the articles of association. In the winter following Lisa undertook to go to Montreal, probably for the purpose of purchasing goods for the company. At Detroit, however, he found that the non-intercourse act (*ce maudi embargau,* he called it), which had been passed in the spring of 1806, but the operation of which

[47] Cheek was himself killed near the forks of the Missouri, bravely fighting single handed against the Indians.

[48] This last sentence is more rhetorical than is usual with General James. Lisa's portrait which is given at the beginning of this article contradicts these statements.

had been several times suspended, was again in force. The object of his journey being thus defeated, he returned home. The next spring he again went up the river, but no account of the party or the trip has been found. James, who came down with a party commanded by Col. Menard, reaching St. Louis in August, 1810, does not mention having met him. He returned to St. Louis in the fall. The affairs of the company on the upper river had been far from prosperous. Many of the men, and among them George Drouillard, had been killed by the Blackfeet. The posts at the Bighorn and at the Forks had been abandoned, and a party of men under Major Andrew Henry had crossed to the western slope of the mountains, hoping to be able to trap there unmolested. There was no returning traveler to bring back news of this party, and by the spring of 1811 solicitude as to its fate grew to be intense. An expedition was organized on a different basis from those which went out for trading purposes to go in search of it. The expedition went out in a single boat, the best that ever ascended the river, manned by twenty stout oarsmen. The party consisted of twenty-five men, well armed, and prepared to withstand all enemies. The boat left St. Louis late in March and, after a brief halt at St. Charles, the voyage began on 2 April. On the 14th of the preceding month the Astoria party under Wilson Price Hunt had left St. Charles, bound up the river on its way to the Pacific. Hunt had engaged Pierre Dorion to go with him as interpreter, and Lisa, in whose employ Dorion had been and who was loath to lose him, had undertaken to hold him, in the same manner that he undertook to hold Vasquez at the time of the departure of Pike's expedition, by arrest by civil process for debt. Dorion, however, took to the woods, escaped the bailiffs, and joined the party later on. Notwithstanding the ill feeling caused by the Dorion incident Lisa was anxious to overtake the Hunt party in



Wilson P. Hunt

order that their united strength might insure a safe passage through the dangerous country of the Sioux. A chase ensued that has no equal in history. It lasted for two months and covered a distance of twelve hundred miles. The Sioux territory was passed in safety and the Hunt party overtaken just beyond its limits. Each party had its historian. With Lisa was Henry M. Brackenridge,[49] and John Bradbury was of Hunt's party. Each wrote an account of the voyage, and both accounts are among the classics of our Missouri literature. Later, Irving retold the tale in his *Astoria.* In the Hunt party were several enemies of Lisa's. Besides Dorion, there was Robert McClellan, who had frequently threatened to shoot Lisa on sight, and Ramsay Crooks, whose temper was equally hostile. Trouble was not long in coming. The story is told by Bradbury as follows:

"Immediately on my return to our camp a circumstance happened that for some time threatened to produce tragical consequences. It appears that during our absence Mr. Lisa had invited Dorion, our interpreter, to his boat, where he had given him some whiskey, and took that opportunity of avowing his intention of taking him away from Mr. Hunt, in consequence of a debt due by Dorion to the Missouri Fur Company, for whom Lisa was agent. Dorion had often spoken to us of this debt, and in terms of great indignation at the manner in which it had been incurred, alleging that

[49] The impression made by Lisa upon Brackenridge and that made by him upon General James, were radically diverse. The latter says, in a letter to Walter Forward, "You have my book on Louisiana and the account of my voyage or trip up the Missouri, as the *fidus Achates* of Manuel Lisa. He was a man of 'bold emprise,' like some of the Spanish heroes of the conquest. It was a good opportunity to improve my Spanish, as we spoke the language exclusively, and read Don Quixote together, at such intervals as we could snatch for the purpose." Bradbury is less kindly. He had a grievance, however, in that Lisa would not allow the boat in which Bradbury and Brackenridge came down the river to be stopped in order to allow Bradbury opportunity to search for rare plants.

he had been charged the most exorbitant prices for articles had at Fort Mandan, and in particular ten dollars per quart for whiskey. Some harsh words had therefore passed betwixt him and Lisa, and he returned to our camp. On the instant of my arrival, Mr. Lisa came to borrow a *cordeau*, or towing line, from Mr. Hunt, and being perceived by Dorion, he instantly sprung out of his tent and struck him. Lisa flew into the most violent rage, cried out, *'O mon Dieu! ou est mon couteau!'* and ran precipitately to his boat. As it was expected he would return armed, Dorion got a pair of pistols, and took his ground, the party ranging themselves in order to witness the event. Soon after Mr. Lisa appeared without pistols; but it was observed that he had a knife in his girdle. As Dorion had disclosed what had passed in Lisa's boat, Messrs. Crooks and McLellan were each very eager to take up the quarrel, but were restrained by Mr. Hunt, until an expression from Lisa, conveying an imputation upon himself, made him equally desirous of fighting. He told Lisa that the matter should be settled by themselves, and desired him to fetch his pistols. I followed Lisa to his boat, accompanied by Mr. Brackenridge, and we with difficulty prevented a meeting, which in the present temper of the parties, would certainly have been a bloody one."

After a time peace was patched up between Lisa and Hunt, they co-operated to their mutual advantage and parted apparently without enmity.

Lisa found with Hunt three of Henry's men who had left the main party and started for home, but who had been persuaded to join Hunt's expedition and turn back. Learning from these men that Henry and his party were safe, Lisa went no further up the river than Fort Mandan. From that place he went back to the Arickara villages, where he later was joined by Henry and his men and they returned together to St. Louis, where they arrived in October, 1811.

(*Conclusion to follow.*)

THE SPANISH FORTS AT THE MOUTH OF THE MISSOURI RIVER.[1]

Delivery of the Fort of San Carlos Principe de Asturias and the blockhouse of Carlos Tercero, 1769. (General Archives of the Indies, Seville, Papers proceeding from the Island of Cuba.)

Delivery made of the royal Spanish fort, San Carlos el Senor Principe de Asturias and of the blockhouse San Carlos el Rey Don Carlos Tercero, both of which are located at the mouth of the Missouri—the first on the south bank, and the second on the north bank—by the commandant and governor of both posts, Don Francisco Rui y Morales, captain of the company of Louisiana, to the first lieutenant of the same company, Don Pedro Piernas, his successor, in accordance with the command and order of Don Antonio de Ulloa, governor and captain-general of this province. The latter remains in charge of their fortifications, works, and quarters, that have been constructed, the war supplies and other things which are mentioned in the following inventory, which was made with the assistance of the two storekeepers, Don Francisco Dubreseau and Don Lorenzo Chouriac, on the tenth of March, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-nine.

The fort is a square eighty feet each way, including the bulwarks. The latter have each seventeen feet in front and six feet flank, Paris measurement. They are all constructed of thick logs in part rounded and in part

[1] The Society is indebted to Hon. Louis Houck for this document. See, in connection with this, the document printed in Missouri Historical Society Collections, Vol. III, No. 2, p. 145, "*The Beginning of Spanish Missouri.*"

split through the middle. There are also two doors, one the principal door and the other that of the provisions (*socorro*). The first is seven feet high and four broad, and is made of *liar*[2] plank of two leaves, with a bar of the same wood on the inside. It has four hinges with their hooks (*machos*), a large iron latch, a lock, bolt, and key, all serviceable. The woods of which the stockade is composed are of *liar,* ash, and *ynconis*[3] (or *yuconis*). There is another double stockade in the interior constructed of small logs of equal height and seven inches in diameter.

The second door is seven feet high and three broad, with large inner bars made of *liar* boards. It consists of one leaf, and is furnished with two hinges with their hooks, a bolt, and a lock with its key.

A barracks fifty feet long, eighteen wide, and nine high from the ground to the beginning of the roof. It is made of *liar* planks six feet long, and has two slopes, two windows, with two leaves, supplied with four hinges with their hooks, a bolt, and a lock with its key.

A barracks fifty feet long, eighteen wide, and nine high from the ground to the beginning of the roof. It is made of *liar* planks six feet long, and has two slopes, two windows, with two leaves, supplied with four hinges with their hooks, and one latch inside each one. These are on the opposite side of the said barracks (as one enters, or at the side or place of the said barracks; orig.: *al lado opuesto,* or, *al lado o puesto*). But there are two other windows which are the chief ones, of the same fashion, and furnishings as the preceding. There

[2] *Liard,* i. e., Cottonwood.

[3] The word ynconis or yuconis is not to be found in the dictionaries or treatises on forestry. It is possible that hickory may be what is meant. This supposition is based upon a note in Baudry des Loziere's *Voyage a la Louisiane,* p. 171, which is as follows:

"Le noyer dont je parle n'est pas celui de France; il lui est bien superieure, C'est l'*ycory* des North-Americains.

is one door made of planks of *liar,* with four hinges, with their hooks, and one iron latch inside.

The said barracks are constructed of various woods plastered inside and outside, a loft made of *liar* planks twelve feet long, and one and one-half inches thick, and some of them two. The vicinity of the fireplace is not planked.

A clay fireplace which needs to be repaired, as it is out of order (*augereada*) in the part where the fires are built.

A stage along the three sides of the barracks, two and one-half feet high and six wide made of *liar* planks.

Another edifice of equal length and width, as the preceding constructed in the same manner, and divided into four apartments. One serves as a lodging for the governor, and is eighteen feet square. Its floor and loft are of *liar* boards, and it has two windows, one of two leaves with four hinges with their hooks and one latch. There is one door with two leaves made of *liar* wood, with four hinges, and their hooks, a lock and key, and a latch.

Another apartment next to the preceding living apartment which is used as the governor's kitchen. It is eighteen feet long by twelve broad. It is divided by a thin partition of stakes plastered on each side, but has no fireplace, as it had fallen two days previous to the delivery, because of the lack of solidity of the earth of which the said kitchen was constructed. It has one door of two leaves of *liar* planks, provided with four hinges and their hooks, a lock and key, and a latch. There is another door leading into the governor's room of one leaf which has two hinges and their hooks and a perfect latchkey, one window of one leaf, made of *liar* wood as the others which has two hinges with

Another apartment is divided into two parts, thus making two small rooms. Both have their loft, and

each one is eleven foot long by nine broad. One is used for a powder room and has a small platform three feet high where the powder is placed. The other is used for the storage of various effects of his Majesty. The two rooms have their floors made of *liar* planks, and are divided by a thin partition of stakes. They are located next to the commander's quarters. Each room contains one door of one leaf which has two hinges with their hooks, and a lock and key.

The other apartment which is used as a storehouse, is eighteen feet long by ten broad. It has a loft which is used as a storehouse for his Majesty's effects. It has a door with two leaves made of *liar* wood, which has four hinges with their hooks, one latch, one lock, and its key; one window of one leaf, with its two hinges and their hooks; one latch; and one beam which supports the loft.

In two bastions there are two large planks which are nailed to the stockade itself, and are used as a sentry box together with the ceiling which is made of boards of the same wood.

One flagstaff erected on one bulwark, with its halliard half worn out and its pulley.

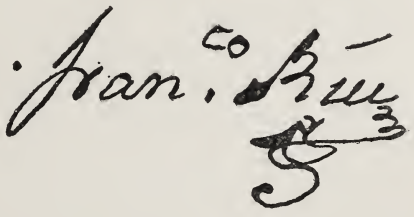
Five cannons: two with a caliber of six, and the other three of four. All are mounted on gun-carriages, and are set in a battery, with their sights and balls.

Twenty-seven banquettes in the form of landing-places, set up on posts, with a like number of loopholes in the stockade for the muskets.

Opposite the door of succor is the oven which is constructed of dirt, and not in the best state of service. Its bottom is broken through the continual use that has been made of it. Its diameter is five feet eight inches, and it is set upon posts. The roof is made of poor unplaned boards of *liar* wood, and is eighteen feet along its two slopes.

On the north shore at the mouth of the Missouri River is a house, called a blockhouse. It has the following form: It is eighteen feet square and seven high, and is constructed of round logs of all sorts of wood. Its roof is of unplaned *liar* boards six feet in length, each board being one inch thick. It has one door and one window which have no ironwork, but small latches of wood.

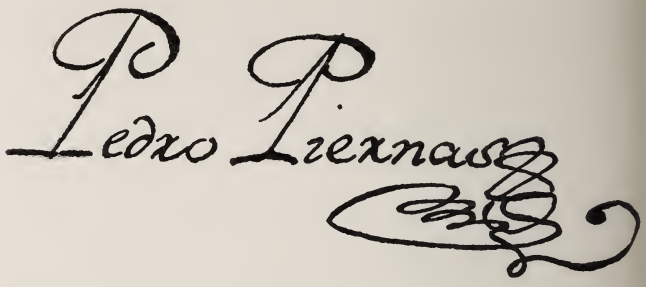
All the contents of this inventory have been examined and delivered exactly by the above mentioned. Don Francisco Rui y Morales, captain and commandant of the company of Louisiana, military and civil governor of the above-expressed posts, which are located at the mouth of the Missouri River, has delivered them to his successor, Don Pedro Piernas, first lieutenant of the above-mentioned company and the new military and civil governor of the said posts. The above has taken place on the day of the above date in the presence of the two storekeepers—outgoing and entering—below signed, in accordance with the orders of this prov. The royal fort of San Carlos el Senor Principe de Asturias, March ten, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-nine.



Loubril (*sic*) Debrussau,
Lorenzo Chouriac,
(three rubrics).

I have taken charge of all the above-contained in the preceding inventory. In order that it may so appear and serve as a protection to Don Francisco Rui,

my predecessor, I affix my signature in this royal fort of San Carlos el Senor Principe de Asturias, March 10, 1769.[4]



Complaints Against Piernas and Chouriac. "The merchants, Rivard and Bérard, who were going to the Illinois, have been forced to land at the Arkansas, not to hear any longer the insulting language, in which a certain Catalan, named Chouriac, who was sent by the Spaniards to the Illinois, as storekeeper and commissary, expressed himself towards the French nation; that Piernas, the commander of the Spanish troops, when going with said Chouriac to the Illinois district to assume its government had met at the *Ecores à Margot,* a boat which was coming down; that the said Piernas and Chouriac stopped her and pressed out of her two rowers, to increase their own crew, by threatening to fire at the boat with their swivel gun if they were not obeyed, * * * that having attempted to stipulate for their wages, the said Chouriac told them that they must go to work for the service of the king without further discussion."[5] (1768.)

[4] The fac-simile signatures of Rui and Piernas were taken from other documents.

[5] 2 Gayarré *History of Louisiana,* 239.

RECOLLECTIONS OF AN OLD ACTOR.

By Charles A. Krone.

(Read at a Meeting of the Society, 17 November, 1905)
Continued from Vol. III, No. 2.

Act Two, Scene Two.

A few days after the close of this season, I was engaged by Ed. Wight, a Chicago comedian, to play in Quincy, Ill. About the middle of the month of February, 1858, I arrived at that town and found a small company playing in a large hall on the first floor of a brick building on Hampshire street, near the public square, and which is now a feed store. The stage was well supplied with scenery and of respectable size. The Germans had used it for their occasional entertainments, and a beer saloon was connected with it. During the five weeks of my engagement I played among many others such parts as William Tell, Charles XII. and characters of like importance, besides two performances of Francis deMoor in German, for which I was paid fifteen dollars each night, the only money I received during this campaign. However, I was getting under way and I began to think I was too good to remain a utility man even in a first class theatre. Gold had been discovered in the mountains and the Pike's Peak excitement began to stir the adventurous spirits of the country. Trade began to improve in whatever was related to the furnishing of articles to the emigrants on their long and perilous voyage to the land of gold. Our business was fair, but our cheap prices of admission of 35, 25 and 15 cents with twelve actors to pay, and an orchestra of six pieces, printing, rent and board at a respectable hotel, there was no more left for me than just enough to pay my passage back

to St. Louis. A scheme, however, had been formed to join this company with that of the Allen combination, who at the time were taking a vacation in Louisiana, Pike County, awaiting the springtide and better business. However, the weather being severely cold, I came home, where after a few days I was called on by C. Stewart, the former old man of the late St. Louis company, who informed me that the two companies had consolidated under the management of John Allen, whose object was to play at Louisiana three weeks and then proceed to St. Joseph where thousands of Pike's peakers were now assembled buying their outfits of horses and provisions for a journey across the plains; that there was bushels of money in it and that I alone was necessary to complete the present dramatic outfit. He promised the best of parts with a salary of $12.00 per week, good board and a half clear benefit at the close of the season, which he fondly imagined would last a year. I consented, and though somewhat dissatisfied with the salary, which really was as much as they could afford to pay, the glorious visions of Macbeth, Othello and others floated before me and determined me at once, and I immediately packed up my traps.

The next morning my friend Stewart and myself were en route for Louisiana, Pike County, on board the steamer Hannibal City. There was likewise a small troupe of German actors on board that had been organized in St. Louis under the direction of a Mr. Haack, a German Jew and a gambler by profession. This man I found later to be one of the brightest schemers and promoters I have met in the business. Before we reached Louisiana he had fleeced two country gamblers of every cent they possessed at poker. He took a great liking to Stewart and myself, and when in sight of our destination he insisted on each of us taking a five-dollar gold piece from him to hang, as he said, on our watch-

chains, and that as his destination likewise was St. Joseph he hoped to meet us shortly. When we arrived in the town of Louisiana we went at once to the Kingston hotel, situated on the river side, where we met our Quincy friend and a few of the new members, the rest not being expected until the next week. However, we had sufficient force on hand to proceed with the business, so, the next night we opened in the Hunchback, with myself as Master Walter, a terribly long part, which I studied in the space of thirty hours. The theatre was a roomy hall in the second story of a new building. On a stage eighteen feet wide and fifteen feet deep was placed the well-painted scenery of the former Allen company, which consisted of a sufficient stock of pretty scenes and a curtain. They were of the kind termed flipper scenes Also footlights were not wanting in tin reflectors and tallow or wax candles. An orchestra composed of two pieces, namely, a man with a fiddle, and a boy who later became proprietor of the principal music store in town, "discoursed most excellent music" on a guitar. Pity they only played three pieces, Kate Kearney, Zip Coon and Hail Columbia, which latter they played for a wedding march in the Hunchback on our first night and never after. Mrs. Clark, a retired actress, who had been a well-known member of Sol. Smith's stock company, had been sent for to play Julia, as our leading lady had not yet arrived. On the first night the house was well filled and the performance was considered a success. In a few days we were in touch with the town, and as we had quite a good company, a good hotel, and our landlord, Mr. Kingston, a kind and entertaining gentleman, everything promised to go on agreeably and profitably. Mr. Kingston as a Tennesseean and a strong pro-slavery man, and when the conversation turned on politics it was better than a farce to see him

lose his temper and curse the abolitionists and free-soilers until his breath failed him, and yet, I was informed later, at the commencement of the Civil War, he was as staunch a Union man as could be found, and my informant added that he died as such, "with his boots on." During this first week I also appeared as Othello. While making up my face for the part, the manager entered the dressing room and cried: "Good Lord, are you going to play that part as a nigger?" I replied: "I don't know nor care whether he's a nigger or not, but I know that Shakespeare makes him black, as can be proved by a dozen or more allusions to that fact in the original text, and so will I." He laughingly answered: "You don't know where you are! You are not in Illinois or Iowa, but in a hotbed of pro-slavery sentiment. Take care they don't lynch you." I replied: "If there is any moral meaning in the play, Othello must be black. I am not afraid. The Latin races never made any row about marrying a Moor," and I was left free to do as I pleased. I was young and perhaps foolish for challenging a prejudice which might have harmed me, though my convictions were just. I played him black, and I wonder now that excepting a slight laugh and titter on my first appearance, there was no demonstration whatever of offense, but, on the contrary, I received considerable applause and the assurance that the part had been well done from the management.

On the fourth day of our advent in the town we were informed by various citizens that we had been the subject of a virulent attack by a zealous preacher the previous night, at the same time showing us an article in a journal, the name of which I have forgotten, in which all actors were branded as drunkards, jailbirds and outlaws. This was the more astonishing as we were on friendly terms with the best of the young people of the town and confirmed favorites of the guests of the

hotel and the landlord and his family. About the hour the doors of the theatre were opened, the church bells were set to ring, announcing that another volley of abuse would be hurled against these outlaws. Fearing that our business would fall off and knowing that there was no mercy to be expected from the clergyman or his party, we decided to appeal to the liberal element of the community, which we were sure would give us their aid against this injustice. To make the affair as emphatic and public, as well as profitable, the management proposed to play the "Serious Family," a piece taken from Moliere's Hypocrite, a work which, though it does not in the least touch upon religion, is a scathing satire upon that pharisaical pride and arrogance which is the outgrowth of that self-conscious and self-satisfied goodness that brands innocent amusement a crime. Rehearsals were instituted at once, we were liberally assisted by some of the townsmen who came and witnessed the rehearsals and advertised the affair among their friends, besides furnishing us with spicy anecdotes and characteristics of some of the opposition party and pledging themselves to stick by us. We made good use of these stories, that is, suggestively, and in such a manner that they seemed to be part and parcel of the original text, nor was this difficult, for they fitted the characters of the play to a dot. To add to the comicalities, the part of the arch-female hypocrite was assigned to our old man, who stood six feet and an inch in his stockings, and who sported an uncommonly long nose in a very narrow face, decorated by heavy side whiskers, which were, however, concealed beneath the lace frills of a very fine white cap. The male hypocrite, Aminidab Sleek, fell to the part of our comedian, a little, chubby fellow of about five feet in height. The first night the house was filling up to its utmost capacity while our orchestra sawed away at Kate Kearney and the church bells without were mer-

rily ringing. The play began, and when Aminidab Sleek and Lady Sowerbycreamly made their entrance, dressed in prim grey Quaker suits, one gust of applause succeeded another with shouts and roars of laughter. There was but one continued smile or laughter during the entire performanec and at the end the company was called before the curtain, with Aminidab Sleek and Lady Sowerbycreamly in the middle. Aminidab stepped forward, and as near as I can remember, addressed the public in the following style: "Brethren and sisters, Humph! (a long-drawn sigh) in behalf of the Society for the Promulgation of Serious Thought and Contemplation, I thank you for your attendance this evening. Moreover, it hath given us great joy to behold among the number present those doughty champions of our cause, Brother Jones and Brother Smith, who have wielded the sword of Gideon and discomfited the hosts of the profane that would have cast us from out the promised land to perish in the mountains of Hepsadom, where the lion roareth for his prey and the whangdoodle mourneth for its first-born. Yea, verily, they would have slain us hip and thigh (here all groaned and turned up their eyes). Tomorrow night, my brethren and sisters, another meeting will be held in this hall and I trust ye will all be present again, likewise that our colored friends will alsc take their accustomed places on the stairs, in the hall, and block up the doors. Brothers Wright, Stewart, Krone, Allen and Richmond will be present to administer advice and consolation. Sisters Allen, Clark and Sullivan, of the entertainment committee, after the exercises will serve refreshments—watermelons and Switzer cheese to the weary and dejected. I trust that the brothers and sisters will bring with them the serious friends of their acquaintance to further our cause. On this occasion all the seats will be free, only a little donation of fifty cents apiece will be taken at the door to defray the ex-

penses. With this we bid you good-night, hoping you will enjoy the slumber of the purified. Yea, verily!"

To see this play people came from the interior of the county and for six nights every nook of the house was filled with merry, laughing faces, while the negro servants crowded the hall and grinned at the doors. After the performance the slaves lit their large lanterns to light their masters home, and as they wound along the dark roads, one could still hear them laugh and discuss the action of the play. This was quite a triumph for the Allen company and a financial success. On the Monday night of the last week of our engagement my name was announced for a benefit, and, as I had been rather successful in my work, a good attendance was looked for. For this occasion the drama of the Corsican Brothers, in which I was cast for the part of Chateau Renaud, the duellist, and the farce of the Irish Tutor were selected. On the day previous, Sunday, I crossed the river in a skiff with a party of young fellows to fish in the lakes of the Illinois bottoms. The weather was clear but cold, and I foolishly stood in the water the greater part of the day to win the prize of a dozen cigars to be awarded the best fisherman of the party. After recrossing the river I felt very ill and went to bed early to arise a very sick man in the morning. I went to rehearsal, however, and after painfully struggling through my task, I felt as though my head would burst and my backbone had been broken. Arrived at the hotel I threw myself on the bed without taking off either overcoat or boots, became unconscious and lay there until half past seven, when my absence from the theatre created surprise. I was aroused from my stupor by Manager Allen and the landlord who had entered and were standing at my bedside. When Allen asked me if I recognized him I had just about enough breath to say that I did, and seeing my painful gasping for air he hurriedly left the room and I again fell into

the former stupor. The next I remembered was to see two strangers, doctors, and Allen and the landlord stand before me. They examined me and it did not escape my observation that one of the physicians whispered to the landlord with an ominous shake of the head. The physicians pronounced it a severe case of pleurisy-pneumonia, and that there was no time to lose. A boy was sent for medicine, and upon his return a dose was given me and the party left the room. While I was gasping for air and wondering what they would do at the theatre in this emergency, the landlady and two ladies who were stopping at the hotel, entered and after kindly asking me about my condition, the landlady replied: "I think we can do better for him than the doctors." Upon this, she took the medicine that had been placed upon the window sill, smelled it, then opened the window and threw it out into the street, saying: "You are worth a dozen dead men." This remark led me to believe that the doctors had given me some opiate to enable me to die easy. She then said: "Now, young man, I want you to do as I tell you, and to look upon me as if I were your mother or your sister. These ladies and myself will see that you will be all right, but you must obey our orders." Upon this a negro man was called to make a fire while one of the ladies placed a bell rope within my reach to summon help if I required it. They then retired, but soon returned with a number of jugs filled with hot water, woolen blankets, and heated bricks, the landlady holding a glass tumbler half filled with castor oil in one hand and a couple of lemons in the other. The heated jugs and bricks were placed upon me and around me and the blankets spread over them, the lemon juice was squeezed into the castor oil, almost filling the tumbler, my head raised and the contents poured down my throat. After enjoining me to lie quiet until they returned in the morning and to ring for the black servant

in case I required anything, they bid me goodnight and left the room. Before long, the intense heat threw me into a profuse perspiration. About two o'clock in the morning I was startled by a commotion and loud rattle in my chest while something was rising to my throat which threatened to suffocate me. I held my hand to my mouth and a clot of what seemed a coagulated ball of blood fell into it. "There goes my lung," I thought, as I laid the mass on the windowsill. But now breath came freer and my mind more clear, and as I lay musing on the events of the previous evening I made a promise to myself, that if ever a woman should require my help, I would give it to the fullest extent of my ability, no matter who or what she might be. I have had several opportunities during my life to make that promise good, but not sufficient to compensate for what I owed. In the morning the nurses were promptly on hand and their pleasure at seeing the almost fatal obstruction that had passed from me and the encouraging remark: "Now, then, you're all right," gave me hope that my career as an actor would not be interrupted and that the lungs were still on hand. The negro immediately was called to change the bed clothes, while the landlady knelt before my trunk and rummaged around to find a change of underwear. While she was busy thus I thought of my mother, whose office she was performing, and as the rays of the early morning sun fell through the window upon the gentle face and light brown hair of that kneeling woman, she appeared like a transfigured vision to my young mind, and I felt that a genuine woman is something higher and nobler than the mere dictionary definition implies. After this she left the room to the servant, who, after putting to rights the room and myself, went to bring my breakfast.

With attention and care I improved rapidly. The coming Saturday we were to leave for St. Joseph. I was not allowed to leave my room until the morning

of our departure. After thanking my benefactors and bidding them farewell, I was led to the boat which was to take us to Hannibal City where the Hannibal and St. Joseph railroad that had lately been built awaited us. As the boat backed out into the stream, I stood in the forecastle to get a last look at our friends on the wharf. The ladies stood waving their farewells. Our landlord, in his blue jeans suit, parti-colored calfskin vest and broad-brimmed planter's hat, like an American patriarch, stood at the river's edge, his kind and honest face diffused with smiles at the ovation which the funmakers, as he termed us, were receiving, whilst I, besides the sincere sadness I felt at the parting, was weighed down by an emotion of humility, melancholy and embarrassment which I could not account for then. I know it now to have been the fact that a youngster of twenty-two had discovered for the first time that he was of some importance to the world outside of his relatives and friends.

We arrived at Hannibal that evening and boarded the train early in the morning, where we met the remainder of the new company who had arrived previously. This party consisted of Sam Ryan and Kate Denin Ryan, his wife, and three children; Chas. Walters and his wife, Clara Walters, and H. Powell and wife. The train was crowded with passengers going west to profit by the Pike's Peak affair. However, two seats were placed at the disposed of Ryan's three children and myself and diverted by these and the pranks of the company, besides an occasional running off the track by the locomotive, on which occasion the men of our company would help to replace it and sing and joke, the journey, though long, was rather pleasant. In the vicinity of Stewartsville some indistinct object was swinging from a tree, and a farmer informed us that it was the body of a horse-thief who had been hanged several days previous, which information filled our eastern

actors with horror. The Hannibal road so lately opened, was still in a very imperfect condition and as we had lost considerable time from the various accidents, we did not reach St. Joseph until ten o'clock that night. On our arrival I was quartered at the Missouri Hotel where I received a cot in the office among six others that were occupied by strangers of various grades and characters. I immediately went to bed, but had scarcely made myself comfortable when some members of our company and several citizens drew me out and led me to Smith's Hall, where we were to play. A German performance had been given that Sunday night, with a dance that was still going on, and they said that I was waited for by some old school-mates and friends from St. Louis. On my arrival, after passing through a dense crowd of dancers to a room back of the stage where a lot of people were seated smoking and drinking champagne, some one cried: "Here he is!" and I was hailed by a cheer from the company, among whom, indeed, were several friends I had not seen since my school days. Mr. Haack, the German manager, welcomed me, and thrust another five-dollar gold piece into my vest pocket, saying: "You take it, son, for I've got more than I can use. My performance this evening has cleared me $85.00, I have won nearly $200.00 at poker and I expect to double that tomorrow. This town is a regular Eldorado and you folks will make a mint of money." From the manner in which the champagne flowed, the appearance of the people and the indifference in which money was squandered, I was induced to believe him. As I was convalescent, I was permitted to leave the party at one o'clock. Next morning I was aroused at the early hour of six and notified that a gentleman was waiting for me with a team. I arose and met a stranger with a long buggy whip in his hand, who introduced himself as Mr. Collins, and said that as the morning was bright

and clear and having heard I had been very ill, he had come to give me a good healthy drive over the hills that surrounded the town. I thankfully accepted the invitation, and though at the time I had rather slumbered, this drive was a benefit to me. We got into a fine two-horse rig and spanked towards the high hills that were dotted with tents like a large military encampment. Here was a picture of life and action among a mass of human beings from every part of the land, some cooking, washing or sewing, others feeding cattle or mending wagons and harness, whilst from the surrounding ravines and gulches re-echoed the sharp crack of rifles and the newly invented breech-loader, with which the emigrants were practicing to enable them to meet the attacks of the savage Indians of the plains. Large schooner wagons with teams of stout horses were corralled in one place and rickety old farm wagons and lowing oxen in another. Even small two-wheeled vehicles containing a diminutive sheet-iron stove and cooking utensils were not wanting and these were to be shoved by hand, like a wheelbarrow, across the plains. But a few had taken their families. All appeared to be inspired with courage and hope. Many of the wagons had mottoes painted upon them in large black letters, such as: "Faint Heart Never Won Fair Lady," "I Dare," "For Pike's Peak Ho," etc. On entering the town the crowded streets of its business quarter presented a scene of bustling activity that gave it the appearance of a great fair. The hardware stores were busy selling stoves, pans and knives, and the groceries and meat shops were reaping a golden harvest; while from the saloons, billiard rooms and bowling alleys resounded the rattle and roll of balls far into the night. Around the old market house and the square a motley crew of peddlers and Peter Funk auctioneers were selling bogus jewelry and watches, and clowns offering pot-metal knives and pepper-box revolvers for sale. One

fellow dressed a la Hamlet, was doling out small bottles filled with crude petroleum at twenty-five cents apiece as a sovereign cure for rheumatism and every other "ill that flesh is heir to." Indians and half breeds, some dressed in their native garb, offered bronchos from the distant prairies. Amidst all this confusion, an old man of some sixty years of age, dressed in a full suit of buckskin, with a cap made of a coonskin, the head of the animal in front and the tail hanging down the back of his neck upon his long, snow-white hair, his face covered with a beard that almost reached to his girdle, and a long rifle upon his shoulder, walked gravely through the crowd like a mysterious vision of the past that had come to re-visit the scenes of his former exploits. He was the classical embodiment of the typical ancient backwoodsman, and he has been my model on several occasions when I performed characters of that description. I was again vividly reminded of these scenes on my first visit to the Pike during the World's Fair, although time, conditions, and objects were entirely different.

Our ride concluded, I went to Smith's Hall to a rehearsal. The hall was small though comfortable for the actors, it having two commodious dressing rooms. It was owned or leased by two Swiss brewers, Uhlinger and Billeter, who did all in their power to make things agreeable. The theatre was in the second story, the lower being occupied by a drygoods store, a grocery, and a saloon at the corner. Our first performance was a signal success, the window sills again serving for extra seats. An orchestra under the leadership of Professor Behr, an efficient German-trained musician, furnished excellent music, and as our company was far above the average of those even in large cities, a company it would have been impossible to obtain but for the hard times that prevailed, and as our performances gave satisfaction, everything looked bright and hope-

ful. The bill was changed every night unless in the case of some special production, and the same repertoir was produced that was usual in all English theatres, including the dramas of Knowles, Sheridan and Shakespeare. None but the best were produced, for, not alone the ambition of the actor but the best intelligence of the public made this a requisite, and thus many high-class plays were produced during our four months' stay, pioneering also some new productions, such as Bateman's comedy of "Self," "Corsican Brothers" and the "American Cousin."

As the hotel charges for the company were very high, after much difficulty we were transferred to different boarding houses. John Goodwin and myself and two others were lodged with a Mr. F—, who lived in an old country-built frame house of six rooms, situated on the edge of a high, perpendicular mud bank on Black Snake Creek. The house was filled to its full capacity with men, women and many children. Goodwin and myself slept in the room of an annex to the main building, a one-story barrack-like structure, where at night we could hear the Black Snake roar and the mud foundation of our domicile splashing in the flood beneath when the creek was high. The room contained three double beds: one of these was occupied by my partner and myself, the others by wandering parties of men, women and children, that came as mysteriously as they departed, for though we often heard, we seldom saw any of our room-mates. Our habit was to come home after the performance, receive about an inch of tallow candle from the landlord to light the way to our couch, blow it out, undress in the dark and creep into bed. When we arose at eight in the morning, our fellow lodgers had already cleared the ranch. Instead of springs, our bedstead had ropes stretched across, upon which was placed a huge bag of corn shucks covered by a sheet of brown domestic. A bolster and pillows like-

wise filled with shucks, and the whole covered with two wornout "cotton kivers." One morning I awoke with considerable pain, caused by the remnant of a corn cob in the pillow, which had made quite a hole in my cheek. Our food consisted chiefly in cooked beef, beans, pickles and biscuits, the size of a baby's head, baked some three days old, to prevent indigestion. The worst feature of the place was that we were prevented from studying our parts at night, for I had much to do, but as there was no room elsewhere we were forced to submit. However, one night returning home earlier than my partner, just as I was about to blow out the dim light, I perceived a curious mixture of brown and silvery white upon my shuck pillow. It was a man's face. I pulled down the cover and there lay the white-haired, ancient buckskin model I had seen and admired two weeks ago on the market place, with his rifle resting on his arm and his dirty moccasins soiling the sheets, snoring with all his might. I was angry, and upon shaking him gruffly he growled: "What in hell's the matter with you?" "You are in my bed and I want you to get out of it, that's what's the matter," I replied. "Why there's room for two, so get in, and if you don't make any fuss I'll divy with you." By this time the other inmates of the room were awake and some of the children began to cry, and one of the women soothed her youngster by saying: "Don't be afeared, bud, the gentlement ain't goin' to fuss." Finally I got the old man out of bed but he would not leave the house, when a head of black hair and full whiskers popped from under a blanket and finally yelled out: "Why don't you let the young fellow have his bed and give us a rest." "That's none of your d—d business," Buckskin coolly replied and proceeded: "I'm sure he won't turn out an old man like me into the rain." This at once reminded me of my duty, and I offered him a quarter to get a lodging. He grasped it eagerly and went

towards the door where he paused and offered to sell me his long rifle for two dollars and a half, and upon my refusal to buy it he turned to me and in a low voice said: "Goodnight, stranger, you can go to bed." Then turning to black whiskers: "And you can go to hell," after which he vanished like Hamlet's ghost. Black whiskers muttered: "Good riddance. The darned old fool. Nobody knows who he is nor whar he came from." After a great deal of grumbling and a few petitions to the manager in regard to our lodgings, we were removed to a boarding house kept by a Mr. T——, which was situated on Main street and near the theatre. This was a decided improvement, as the house was of brick and comparatively new. Our room with two windows gave sufficient air and light and instead of one inch of tallow dip we were allowed a whole candle whenever required, with the liberty of light all night if necessary; however, again the scarcity of room necessitated the crowding of ten men into a partition apartment of the size of fifteen by twelve. For bedsteads we had cots made out of raw cottonwood boards that warped and took another change with every turn of temperature. Today the legs on one side would be up from the floor and hanging in the air, and tomorrow it would be the other side and all efforts to make them plumb by propping were futile. The bedding was similar to that of Mr. F——'s chateau, namely, stuffed with shucks, though the corn cobs were taken out and that they presented a higher state of modern tidiness than the former. Our companions were of the following professions: Two Peter Funk auctioneers, one negro minstrel, a lame barroom fiddler, a Spanish juggler and a Yankee trader who sold pocket-books and jack-knives on the market square. I had received another partner this time in the person of our comedian, Edwin Wight, for whom I conceived a friendship which lasted until his death some years ago. This house, like others of

that period, was so crowded that at times even the long dining room was filled with sleepers lying upon the tables or on the bare floors on either side of it, in rows, like sardines. The food was plain and wholesome, and whatever other luxuries, such as mustard and ketchup which were not furnished, we bought ourselves by general contribution. The landlady, an elderly widow, was one of the kindest and most obliging in the business, always ready to serve and to shut her eyes or laugh at the various practical jokes and boisterous fooleries that we practiced on the premises. On the whole we considered ourselves well lodged and the business continued excellent until about the month of May, when we received opposition in the person of Robert Miles, at present the proprietor of the Cincinnati opera house, who then was starring as "Mazeppa," and brought a company and a horse with him to play the drama. This, no doubt, was the first time that a play with a horse as one of the actors had visited St. Joseph. Of course, the novelty of the affair and the fact that the performance took place in a finer hall than ours, with a larger stage and a commodious auditorium, drew that part of the circus-loving public, who have always been in the majority, and our business began to fall off, besides Miles had come to stay as manager and leading man of the St. Joseph Theatre.

At this juncture John Langrish and his clever wife, and James Wallis arrived to join our company. John Langrish, an excellent character actor, and the manager of the most solid and efficient traveling company of the northwestern states, where he had traveled for years, forced by the stress of the hard times, had disbanded his company and come with his wife and James Wallis, his excellent leading man, to try their fortune on the road to the land of gold. We now had a company numbering more leading people than any I have been with since, namely, Wallis, Walters, Allen, and

another, in myself. The three first named, however, had played the business in acknowledged and standard theatres. The leading parts were cast according to the supposed capacity in each. Wallis, among other parts, would play Virginius; Allen, Hamlet; Walters, Lodovico, in Evadne, and Krone, Othello and Macbeth. The same parties would also play inferior parts whenever required. Of comedians we had three, Sam Ryan, Ed. Wight and John Goodwin. Of old men, Langrish and Stewart, and for general parts, H. Richmond, James Rollins, Archie Allen and Charles Hawkins. The leading ladies were represented by Mrs. Kate Denin Ryan and Mrs. Clara Wallis, added to which were Mrs. Dowell, Mrs. Allen and Miss Sullivan. The next move of our manager, John Allen, or "Long John," as he was called, was to procure a better and more spacious home for the company. For this purpose, Charles Stewart, our old man performer, who was an architect by profession, drew a plan for a theatre with a dress circle and parquet, to be built in the second story of a new building which, I think, stood on the corner of Main and Felix streets. Charles Hawkins, of our company, a clever sign and ornamental painter, with some talent for landscape and figures, was engaged to paint a curtain and the scenery. The plan was at once put into execution and after laboring night and day for several weeks the place was opened as the Allen Theatre, with a gala performance of "London Assurance." Instead of the customary prologues at openings, the entire company, in evening dress, was ranged upon the stage, where accompanied by an organ and an orchestra of fifteen pieces, they sang the national anthem of the Star Spangled Banner, at the conclusion of which the new curtain representing the "soldier's dream" descended amidst the applause and admiration of an elegant and appreciative audience. The house was packed and the heat was so intense that several ladies fainted.

The building of a theatre had been started previous to this, and proceeded no further than its mere foundation, and so I think I am justified in saying that the Allen Theatre was the first faint realization of what is termed a regulation theatre.

The horse drama at the St. Joseph having had its day, Miles was compelled to have recourse to the legitimate English drama and from this time the business wavered between good and bad, according to the attractions at either place. Two theatres were too many. Besides the Pike's Peak travel had virtually ceased, but few going out, whilst many after a few hundred miles of travel returned broken in fortune and spirits. During the second week of the new theatre I appeared as Othello to a large audience and the play was so well received by the public and the press that we were solicited to repeat it for the benefit of the St. Joseph orchestra, when it again drew a large audience. Shortly after I also appeared as Macbeth, which was produced with the incidental and original music of Locke, and as we had no score of the same, and I was acquainted with every note, the entire work was taken from my voice by Professor Behr and arranged in so skillful a manner that it was very like the original. This also met with success. The excellent acting of Wallis in Virginius likewise suffered a repetition. The comedy of "Self" was produced with new scenes and the elegant costumes of the ladies and their excellent rendition of the women of fashion in this novel representation of American life, drew several good houses. Up to this period things were still going on smoothly, salaries were paid, the best citizens were interested in the institution and gave it their patronage, the actors were well liked and invited to outings and drives and picnics and whatever was going on among the younger population, but the increasing number of unfortunate Pike's Peak pilgrims were a burden upon the community and

the approaching time for making engagements in the large cities for the next season, threatened the dissolution of the enterprise. During the month of June benefits began to be tendered to the leading members, a sure sign that the season was about to close. Mine took place on Saturday, night on which occasion I appeared as Mephistopheles, in Michalet's drama of "Faust," a part for which I had conceived a great liking, through reading Goethe's tragedy of the same title. My benefit was well attended and on the following day one of the journals said: "That if Mr. Krone does the old gent as well through life as he did in the play, he deserves a place with Mahomet and the houris in the seventh story." However that might be, I am inclined to think that it was the first performance of that part in the town.

Our room at the boarding house was visited by a newspaper man for the purpose of writing it up for some journal. He took particular interest in our entymological museum, an institution that had been started by my partner, Ed. Wight, who collected the flies and bugs that entered through the windows and glued them on the wall with a label giving the name, history and a burlesque scientific description of the habits of each. Other rarities of personal interest, such as old shoes, hats and cravats and a picture gallery of woodcuts clipped from newspapers and periodicals was not wanting, besides a free and easy glee club, whose aim it was to foster the education of popular American songs, such as "Jim Crow," "Jinny Get Your Hoe Cake Done," and to which all were admitted who had a voice or not. Over the door of the room a sign was nailed with Vanity Fair painted on it, and a two-foot square blackboard hung on the door with a crayon on a string for those who wished to leave orders. All this and more was noted down to be published in some journal, and if it was, I never heard of it.

The season was drawing to a close and so were the pranks and diversions of the company. Salaries were behind some weeks, a few members of our company had gone over to the opposition house and the weather was extremely hot. Disappointed gold seekers, who had never seen the Peakwere continually returning with their jaded teams and worn-out vehicles that now bore such mournful inscriptions upon them as "Prodigal Son," "Pike's Hell," "A Fool Is Born," etc., etc., instead of the inspiriting mottoes at their departure. Others came in on foot, hungry and ragged, after having left their go-carts to rot on the plains, with nothing in their pockets but souvenirs of snake rattles. On one occasion I saw three men that were picked up on the river side by a sympathizing citizen. These men had come down the Platte into the Missouri River on a rudely-constructed raft. The remnant of clothing that was left upon them was torn and worn until they were half naked and their faces so tanned and swarthy that if it had not been for their full beards, it would have been difficult to recognize them for white men. No sooner did they find themselves in the hands of friends than they fell starved and exhausted when they were conveyed to a place for their recovery. Many of the disappointed gold seekers maintained that the Pike's Peak affair had been gotten up by the people of St. Joseph as a fake to make money, and numerous threats were made to set the town on fire. Upon this the militia was called out to patrol the streets at night and everything became as quiet and dismal as a churchyard. Allen closed the theatre and the company disbanded. I had saved a few dollars, added to which I had the share of my late benefit, a half clear after expenses, which consisted of four ten-dollar gold pieces, which I secreted in the waistband of my pants, to be used to carry me through the summer until my next engagement. I loitered about the town for a few days

visiting friends, when I learned that the railroad company sold tickets to St. Louis at the cheap rate of $2.50, no doubt for the purpose of ridding the town of its unwelcome emigrants. John Goodwin, the prompter, and myself resolved to take advantage of this cheap rate and so the next day at noon we found ourselves seated on the rough board benches in a cattle car with a motley crew of passengers. The majority were young people, who though disappointed, still had the world before them and were full of fun and spirit to get back home, but there were not wanting some older men who looked gloomy and despondent. The day was spent pleasantly enough in telling adventurous tales, singing or playing cards, but the night was one of terror, as there was neither room to sleep nor food to be had for those that had not provided themselves with a lunch, a provision that my partner and myself had neglected in our eagerness to get home. I think that we only stopped for water or fuel, and during the interim we could hear loud roars of laughter and boisterous songs from the car ahead of us where the whiskey bottle was passed freely. Early in the morning we arrived at Hannibal, where we were compelled to wait until late in the afternoon for the boat to take us to St. Louis. We were tired out with hunger and watching. Nevertheless Goodwin volunteered to go up town and get something to eat whilst I remained to watch the trunks which had been dropped in a solitary place by a wood-yard. When I was alone I found a green spot between two wood piles and laid enough cord sticks across to make a roof to shade myself from the sun, and after drawing the trunks to the edge of my couch, I lay with my legs across the baggage and slept immediately. I was awakened by my legs dropping on the ground and as I looked ahead I saw a fellow walking off with my trunk on his shoulders, and when I bid him drop it he replied that a gentleman had hired him to carry it

to the hotel and he proceeded with it. I again bid him halt, at the same time drawing an unloaded eight-inch rifle-barreled pistol that I used at the theatre and threatened to use it on him, when he dropped the trunk, saying that there was no use of my being vexed, as he had made a mistake. Goodwin arrived with the food, consisting of jerked beef and a considerable amount of stale three-storied gingerbread, that is, of the kind that is composed of layers of yellow, white and red, and some dried beef. I demurred, but he said that it was the best that he could do, that he was too weak to hunt all over town and that it would serve us until we reached home. He was right, for it proved a Lucullus banquet to our ravenous appetite, and after we had satisfied our hunger we quenched our thirst with copious draughts from the Father of Waters, smoked our pipes and then retired to our couch between the two wood piles and slept.

Late in the afternoon we were awakened by the shrill whistle of the steamer as she headed towards the wharf. We went on board and after she had taken in some freight we proceeded on our way home. Of course, our tickets called for a deck passage. The fellow who had taken our trunks on board perceiving that they were labeled "Allen's Dramatic Company," came up where we were sitting and began mocking us and making insulting remarks, laughing at us and spouting tragic sentences from Richard, etc. This was very annoying, and when we remonstrated with him he grew insolent. One of the crew, an intelligent looking fellow, who was sitting at the stern with a book in his hand, was watching him closely. I entered into conversation with him, and he told me he was a Kentuckian and that he was working his way home; that this mocking fellow had made life bitter to him when he first entered on the boat and that he would get even with him when on shore. The book he read was a collection

of plantation melodies. I sang some of them to him which pleased him very much. After this we were annoyed no further for when the fellow passed us again he said to the Kentuckian: "I've removed your truck. You owe me a bitters when we get ashore; don't you forget to pay me." "I'll pay you," he replied. We arrived early in the morning and as we left the boat, we saw the Kentuckian paying his bitters to the joker in various kicks and cuffs.

After seeing my family I at once proceeded to the St. Louis Theatre to see Waldauer, who was DeBar's leader of the orchestra. The company from New Orleans was playing the summer season, and I found Waldauer in front of the theatre, where, after the customary greetings, he informed me that he had recommended me to DeBar and urged me to see him at once. The first time that I ever came in contact with DeBar, or rather when he came in contact with me was while I was acting as a super. DeBar was playing Von Brummel in the "Flying Dutchman," and I was a sailor whose part it was to haul a rope on deck during a storm. While I was performing this duty in what I thought a highly artistic manner, DeBar who thought that I was probably playing the part too well or too much, picked up a rope's end with a big knot in it, and with it gave me such a whack on the back that I turned in fright and pain upon him, saying: "What's the matter?" Upon which he gruffly growled: "You drop that rope, that's what's the matter." From this circumstance I had conceived an idea of him as a very rude and unsociable man, but on this, my second approach, I was entirely undeceived. I entered his office and found him seated at a long table and upon seeing me said: "You are Mr. Krone, are you?" I replied, "Yes, sir," upon which he continued: "Egad, I thought so. Waldauer gave a good description of you. He tells me that you sing and that you are clever with

BEN DeBAR.

the combat sword, two accomplishments you will find very useful in my theatre.'' After telling me of the advantages which his theatre possessed for a young man I signed a contract for that present summer season at home and the following winter season in New Orleans, an engagement of forty-three weeks. My line of buiness was that of a ''Respectable Utility Man,'' with a promise to advance me as speedily as possible, and a salary of $10.00 per week in St. Louis and $12.00 in New Orleans. He then gave me a part in which I was to open the third night following, and going with me to the door, said, laughingly: ''I hear you are very prompt and exact in your business. That's right, for whether you are the president of the United States or a match peddler, if you want to succeed in the business, egad, you've got to attend to it. Good-bye. Rehearsal tomorrow morning at ten o'clock.'' Arrived at home I read over my contract. It was the first one I had ever signed, and I was terrified to see what was required of me, and the penalties I should incur in case I violated any of its rules. There were penalties ranging from one dollar to a week's salary and discharge from the theatre, for such offenses as spitting upon the stage, swearing, talking loudly, coming too late, intoxication and quarreling. I was told, however, by a friend that they were seldom if ever enforced excepting the one relating to a discharge, and that only in extreme cases. In later years this instrument was greatly modified. But although these fines were not enforced, the theatre was conducted strictly on the principles of order and propriety, and like all first-class theatres of that period, had an efficient force to fill all the various departments. Each of the principal lines of business had a second, such as a second heavy man, old man and comedian, a first and second property man, a prompter and his assistant call boy, a first and second stage carpenter, all

of whom were strictly confined to their respective duties and not to attend to any other, and when their work was was not required they were to do as they liked. The consequence of this was that the business went on quietly and calmly, with no other noise than that which might proceed from the stage during a performance. The actors were called from the green room for their entrance on the stage at the proper time and stood on the inner side of a broad white line that was drawn from the rear of the stage to the proscenium and when the cue was given they crossed it and entered. The hours for rehearsal and commencement were published in the green room, and ten minutes' grace was allowed for difference in time from the prompter's clock. This clock was placed in the prompter's stand and the time to begin the waits that might occur, the length of each act, imperfection in the lines, accidents, together with applause and calls before the curtain were noted by the prompter and formed into a written report. The treasurer made reports of the stars that were playing, the receipts of the house, and the condition of the weather, and whatever else might occur in the front of the house. Next to DeBar, who was stage manager, the prompter was in command, and whatever occurred was reported to this official and noted down and entered in his report. The following day all reports were copied in a log book as accurately as they are on board a man-of-war. Every two weeks the property man, stage carpenters, painters and janitors were required to present their bills of expenses and give an account of what had been purchased, all of which was recorded in the log, so that DeBar knew what was going on and possessed a means of reference for the future. Another institution was the so-called board which consisted of the officials and some older men of the company to judge on any differences or quarrels among the employes. DeBar was an inveterate enemy of gossips

MRS. BEN DeBAR (HATTIE VALLÉE).

and meddlers. A young fellow who thought himself treated unfairly by one of his colleagues called upon DeBar for redress, but when he heard that the board was to be called to deliberate upon his case he objected, upon which DeBar replied: "You are afraid to meet the man you complain of. Then the case is settled. You are in the wrong and let me hear no more of it." He was strict with himself as with others and it was only once that I saw him try to infringe on one of his most important rules. One of his household had been taken ill and as he was approaching with a doctor to enter through the stage door he was smoking a newly lighted cigar which he turned and hid in the palm of his hand. Peter Finan, his honest old stage doorkeeper, observed the action, saying: "Mr. DeBar, you will be plazed to lave that cigar behind." Upon which he replied: "Egad, I won't smoke it; I'll just hold it in my hand, and come back immediately." Peter replied: "I don't care about that. You have made a rule that no one should enter the building with a cigar and, plaze God, you shall not be the first one to break it." He gave up the cigar to Peter, and while we were all laughing he turned to us and said: "What dy'e think of that? He's right, he's right, but I can't say that my house is my castle."

The company, as near as I can remember, consisted of the following members: Chas. Pope, leads; Wm. Hamblin, heavies; Griffith and Hind, old men; Wright, juveniles; Vining, Bowers and Braithwaite, comedians; Sol Smith, Jr., Howard, Golden, Mackey, Mantz and Krone for general business; Page and Chaplin, for walking gents. The ladies were as follows: Miss Gladstone, leads; Miss Howard, old woman; Miss Hattie Vallee (Mrs. DeBar), dancer and pantomimist. There were several others whose names I have forgotten. Chas. Pope, then in the very bloom of youth, presented a superb stage appearance. His tall, well-knit and

finely proportioned frame, his manly features and sonorous voice, to which his educated mind added dignity and expression, combined to make of Pope a superior interpreter of love, heroism, and the brilliant characteristics of romance. I looked upon him then with a kind of awe and admiration and wondered if I should ever be anything like him. His stately presence and graceful bearing and his well-informed mind procured him numerous friends among the learned and refined classes of society, both here and in New Orleans, where he was idolized and naturally a great favorite with the French population. But excellent as he proved in his parade parts, those of ordinary mortals, such as old men or beggars, ever seemed to fit him as well. During the engagement of Julia Dean the following pieces were produced: "The Hunchback," "Romeo and Juliet," "Adrienne Lecouvreur," "Ingomar," and "Griseldis," a play translated from the German by August Waldauer. In these dramas Pope played the heroes and the lovers with that tenderness and masculinity characteristic of all his work. Julia Dean likewise was an actress that in her highest flights of passion and grief never forgot that she was a woman, as Pope in the most intense love scene never forgot he was a man. The pair fitted well and they seemed to know it for shortly after they starred together.

James Anderson appeared during this season and produced Coriolanus which he played in a masterly manner. The Keller troupe also paid us another visit bringing new tableaux entitled "Kane's Expedition to the North Pole," in which they used a live white bear, who came near putting me out of business. My habit was to be the first man at the theatre.[1] One eve-

[1] The only man that ever broke my record for coming early to the theatre was no less a person than Gen. Grant, whom I found on a cold and wet night standing in front of the box office door with his wife and little daughter as I passed to the stage entrance a few minutes past six. I saluted the General, and he said, 'I beg your

ning I arrived before the gas was lit. I felt my way to the green room and there sat down in the dark awaiting the gas man. Presently I felt something hairy rubbing against my knees, and thinking it was one of DeBar's pets, his big dog Jack, I stroked his head, when the animal crawled upon my breast and twined his forelegs around my neck and began to squeeze me in a manner that aroused me to the fact that these demonstrations were not those of old Jack, but Keller's polar bear, and I began to be very much frightened. I was afraid to cry out for fear of making things worse and began to stroke him and call him pet names, upon which he tightened his embrace and thrust his nose into my face, giving me the benefit of a very strong and hot breath that promised no good. At this juncture the gas man and the bear-keeper entered with a torch, and the bear seeing the light loosened his hold and went toward his keeper, who said: "We are just in time, for though he is young and not fierce, he has got the habit of squeezing everything alive, and his hug is a bone breaker." The Keller troupe were not as successful as on their first visit owing perhaps to the fact that since that period Mrs. Keller's two beautiful sisters had left the company and married, one to the stage manager of the troupe and the other to a gentleman of this city. The performances notwithstanding were still beautiful and as unlike anything of the kind produced since, as the Greek Parthenon would be compared to a Queen Anne cottage. Not long after this engagement Mrs. Keller died of the yellow fever in Habana and the company disbanded.

As for myself, I was getting along in good style. DeBar gave me every opportunity to improve. All the small heavy parts and most difficult and important bits

pardon, Mr. Krone, what time does this box office open?" I replied that he was an hour too early. Mrs. Grant laughed and said: "I told him so." "Well,' he replied, "We'll take a little walk on Fourth street meanwhile. I thank you, good evening."

were allotted to my share, a proof that he was satisfied with me. He also improved me in sword exercise, of which he was a master, until I was able to play the Bandit in the Dumb Girl of Genoa, or the Drunken Corporal, which was a favorite part with him and in which we fought a fierce and difficult combat. I was fortunate to have so excellent a teacher, and though I played so many great parts during my late wanderings and longed for a higher position, I was comparatively satisfied.

During this season the yellow fever had been raging in New Orleans and it was supposed that DeBar would not begin the winter season in that city until a much later date. My mother implored me not to go under any circumstances. I consented to remain, but neglected to send in my resignation, as I still hoped something would turn up to make it possible for me to go, when up went a notice for the company to leave for New Orleans, and I, ashamed to ask for my release at so short a notice remained at home while the company went on their way. This is the first and only time I ever broke a contract, and in speaking about it to DeBar some years after, he laughed, and said that he did not blame me for not going, for his heavy man, James Riley, died of the yellow fever as late as October, but that I should have told him of it, because he waited three weeks for me. This was true, for the following winter I was engaged for the leading heavy business in Louisville. I had played Black Norris in the Wrecker's Daughter with considerable success. After the play, Mrs. Farren, who was the star, said: "You are the gentleman Mr. DeBar waited for three weeks in New Orleans. I don't blame you for not going, as you are in the right place now. If you had stayed at home you would never have gotten any higher."

A week after the company had left for New Orleans I received a letter from John Allen, my former man-

ager, to return to St. Joseph for the winter season, which I declined. The greater number of the St. Joseph company had found engagements in large cities. Clara Walters and her husband were the principals in a Cincinnati theater; Wallace, in Baltimore; Kate Denin Ryan and her husband, at Louisville, Ky., where I was confident they would recommend me if I desired it. I wrote to Sam Ryan to further my cause in that quarter with John T. Lorton, the manager to whom I had applied for the position of leading heavy man. Although on general principles I was indifferent as to whether a character was moral or not as long as it was positive and gave scope for action, I chose that line of business called the heavies, which includes the villain, intriguers, and the strong characters of a drama, because it appeared to me to be the one that stood more on the individual merits of an actor than any of the others, and gave better opportunity for revealing the various passions that stir the human heart, and a larger sphere of action. The courage, resolution and intelligence of a Richard III., although employed for evil, to me were of more aesthetic and moral value than the lovesick wailings of a prurient and one-idea Romeo or Claude Melnotte, who were neither good nor bad, although more popular with the public. With all my heart and soul I wished to act, to disindividualize myself, to produce something that I could do and not what I merely happened to be, and for this purpose the portrayal of the dark side of humanity offered the best advantages. But when I looked around and saw the trivialities and buffoonery that were beginning to take the place of better things, without any visions of ever being a great star with a great income and a villa on Long Branch, for such an idea never entered my mind, I was resolved to do all in my power to make myself proficient in what I had undertaken, and to reach a degree of mastership in which I would be solid with my

manager and satisfactory to an intelligent public. And that while I was representing the villains of the world, tearing the mask from hypocrisy and revealing to the light of day the dark designs of crime and brutality, I was not only doing my duty as a mere actor but as a moral teacher and a good citizen—applause or hisses. It was an elevated mission to me and I was willing to wait patiently, and to enjoy whatever the performance of duty might bring.

On the 28th of September, 1859, I received an answer to my letter from Louisville stating that if I wished to come on trial I was welcome to do so. I was overjoyed for I had no fear of the result. Another step upward in life had been gained. And so two days later, on a bright Sunday morning, I stepped from the train at Louisville, Ky., with a buoyant and hopeful heart, while the curtain slowly descended on my second act.

GRAND JURY PRESENTMENT, JUNE TERM, 1805.

Destrict of Louisiana }
Destrict of St. Louis }

We the Grand Jurors for the Destrict of St Louis Having the Safety of the Inhabitants at Heart, and as a Great number of Savages are at Present in the Destrict and more are Daily Arriving—and Whereas some evil Disposed persons do Sell Barter or give to the Said Savages, Speritious Liquors in such Quantitys as to put them in a State of Intoxication, and thereby Endanger the Lives and Propertys of the Said Inhabitants—

We the Grand Jurors for the Destrict Aforesaid do ernestly request the Court to take the Same Ameadiately into Concideration, and Devise such means as they in their wisdom may think proper to prevent the like in Future.

JOHN BIGGS Foreman

Manuel Paez

LETTER OF DON MANUEL PEREZ TO THE PEOPLE OF SAINTE GENEVIEVE, 1791.[1]

A Messieurs Les habitants
de Ste. Geneviéve.

Messieurs:

Si á la tete des grands osages qui sont venu ici il l'y avait eu des chefs de considération, et qu'ils eussent remplis les conditions que Monsieur, Le Gouverneur General de cette province éxige d'eux, je me serais fait dans ce cas un vrais plaisir d'inviter les nations résidants au tour de vous, á venir ici, et j'aurais servi moi meme de médiater dans la paix qu'ils désirent, et souhaitent faire ensemble, et pour la qu'elle ils m'ont employé en presence de quelqu'uns de vous.

Vous devez sentir, Messieurs, que les osages ne rendant pas la satisfaction que le Gouvernment demande; il serait imprudant et hors de toute politique, de leur faire faire des amis, dans un tems, que je les prive de toutes Marchandises, et que je les ménasse d'une Longue privation, s'ils ne se soumettent a faire un réparation des Vols, Brigandages, et meurtres qu'ils ont fait et commis, sur les terres et pays circonvoisins, et á donner des otages qui resteront dans cette Capitale, pour répondre de leurs actions avenir.

J'ai ete informé, par Monsieur Peyroux du dernier vol de chevaux qu'ils vous ont fait, et dont vous m'instruisez vous memes par votre représentation en datte du 22 du Courant, je n'est pas manqué de leur en faire des reproches, ils m'ont repondus que ce n'etait pas eux, que cela ne pouvait etre que les Petits osages. Je leur dit que je m'attendait bien qu'ils ne l'avouraient pas, mais que je regardais toujours la chose comme si

[1] This document is from the interesting and important *Vallé Collection*, for which the Missouri Historical Society is indebted to the late Captain Francis Vallé.

c'était eux memes puis qu'ils souffraient les petits osages avec eux,—á cela il m'ont promis beaucoup plus, je crois qu'ils ne me tiendront.

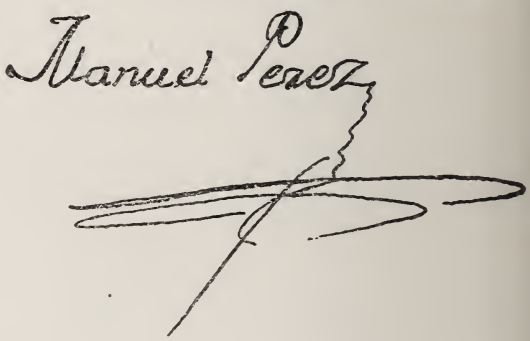
Je vois avec peine, Messieurs, les torts que les nations osages vous cause, et je m'apperçois aujourd'hui plus que jamais qu'il est tems de les reprimer, je ferais á ce sujet des representations á Monsieur Le Gouverneur Général de cette province, j'espere qu'il l'y aura égard, et qu'il donnera en conséquence des ordres positifs.

J'ai L'honneur d'etre avec Considération.

Messieurs

Votre trés humble

et trés obéisant Serviteur



St. Louis des Illinois 26 Avril 1791.[2]

[2] Translation of the foregoing, by Antoinette Douglas:

To *Messieurs*, the inhabitants of Ste. Genevieve.

Gentlemen:—If at the head of the Grand Osages who came here, there had been chiefs of consideration and if they had fulfilled the conditions which the Governor General of this province demanded of them, it would have given me real pleasure in this case to invite the nations residing around you to come here, and I should have acted as a mediator in the peace which they desire, and which they wish to make together, and for which they have enlisted my services in the presence of some of you.

You must feel, gentlemen, that the Osages do not give the satisfaction which the Government asks for; it would be imprudent and against all policy, to make them make friends, at a time when I deprive them of all merchandise and threaten them with a long deprivation, if they do not set themselves to repair the thefts, acts

DON MANUEL PEREZ.

Little has been known, hitherto, of the Spanish governors of the country first designated as "the Western part of the Illinois" and afterwards as Upper Louisiana. They made their homes at St. Louis during their terms of office, and were identified with our people in many ways, but, for some unknown reason, the story of their lives has been forgotten. The Missouri Historical Society has been, for several years, gathering materials for biographical sketches of these men, which sketches it is expected will be published from time to time in the near future.

During the time of the Spanish domination there were six different persons who held the office. Don Silvio Francisco de Cartabona is not included in this number, he having held the position but a few weeks,

of brigandage and murders they have committed upon the neighboring territories and country, and to give hostages who will remain at this Capital to answer for their actions in future.

I have been informed by Mr. Peyroux of the last theft of horses which they have committed from you and of which you yourselves inform me by your representation, on the twenty-second day of the present month. I did not fail to reproach them for it, and they replied that it was not they, that it must have been the Little Osages. I told them that I expected as much although they did not confess it, but that I always looked upon the things as being done by them, since they allowed the Little Osages to be with them,—at this they promised me much more, which promises I do not believe they will keep.

I see with sorrow, gentlemen, the wrongs which the Osage nations cause you, and I perceive today, more than ever, that it is time to repress them. I will make representations to the Governor General of this province concerning this matter, which I hope he will respect, and I hope that he will give positive orders in consequence.

I have the honor of being with consideration,

Gentlemen,

Your very humble
and very obedient servant,
MANUEL PEREZ.

St. Louis of the Illinois, April 26, 1791.

ad interim, owing to the death of DeLeyba. Nor is St. Ange de Bellerive, the first governor resident at St. Louis, included, for the reason that, although he was recognized by the Spanish authorities, he was in fact an officer of the King of France until possession of the country was delivered to Spain in 1770.

The fourth of the Spanish governors was Don Manuel Perez. His official title was lieutenant-governor and commander-in-chief; that is to say he was the chief official in this portion of the province, but he was subordinate to the governor of the whole province whose station was at New Orleans. In fact, however, owing to the distance between the capitals, the difficulties of communication and the condition of the country, the lieutenant-governor was, in many particulars, an independent officer.

Don Manuel Perez was born in the year 1735, at the famous City of Zamora, in the province of the same name in Spain He entered the army in his twentieth year, and apparently worked his way up from the ranks. He saw much active service in Europe, and reached the rank of lieutenant. The date of his coming to America has not been learned, but he first appeared in Louisiana, in 1769, in company with O'Reilly. In 1773, he was at the siege and capture of the British forts on the Mississippi, and in 1783 he accompanied Galvez on his expedition against the British at Mobile and Pensacola, during which he commanded the company of *Chasseurs* of his own regiment, he having become captain in 1780.

He married about 1776, at New Orleans, Mlle. Jeanne Catherine Dubois, of that city.

In 1787 he was appointed lieutenant-governor, and assumed the office at St. Louis, 27 November, 1787; succeeding Don Francisco Cruzat.

One of the first official acts of Governor Perez was to recommend the better fortification of the village of

MADAME PEREZ.

St. Louis, and he also endeavored to persuade the Spanish government to erect forts on the Des Moines and San Pedro rivers, but none of these propositions were received with favor.

During his administration the Osage Indians were very troublesome, and in order to hold them in check he invited the Delaware and Shawnee Indians from the United States to remove to his territories to act as a buffer against the Osages. His invitation was accepted and many of the Delawares and Shawnees settled in what is now the southeastern part of Missouri.

Col. George Morgan visited Governor Perez at St. Louis and explained to him his project of making a settlement of Americans in the Spanish territory, a project which resulted in the settlement at New Madrid. Perez received Morgan with favor and gave him assistance in many ways. It is said that it was during the administration of Perez that the honeybee first appeared west of the Mississippi, and Möllhausen relates that the rich honey harvest produced by the wild bees in the year 1792, was one of the important events in the annals of the country.[1]

That same year Perez was superseded in office by Don Zenon Trideau, who entered upon the administration 21 July, 1792.

Perez returned to New Orleans, and on 3 April, 1793, he petitioned the King in consideration of his services, "his greatly advanced age, and his being one of those to form the first battalion of this province, to please deign to honor him with the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and the enjoyment of the monthly pay, to which said post is entitled, and at the same time to permit him to retire from your royal service with brevet rank at this post, in order that he may with this pay and rank, support his large family which consists of his wife

[1] *Reisen in die Felsengebirge Nord Amerikas*, p. 23.

and six children. The eldest of the latter is a cadet in this regular regiment." He also stated to His Majesty "that he has contracted the special merit of commanding the settlements of the western part of Ylinoia for the space of five years, with the rank of lieutenant-governor and commandant. In that post, because of the rigorous winters, commenced the attacks against his health from which he suffers at present."

His colonel, Don Francisco Bouligny, supported his petition, and said that his conduct had always been very satisfactory, and that he had distinguished himself in the intelligence and management of the accounts and papers of the treasury, and by the zeal and valor with which he had borne himself on all occasions. The Baron de Carondelet, the governor of the Province, wrote to the King that he considered Perez entitled to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, with the pay of a retired captain in view of the fact that he enjoyed a fortune quite sufficient to support himself and his family with decency.[2]

Perez received his appointment as lieutenant-colonel, and held, in his retirement, important civil positions under the government. He died at New Orleans in 1814, aged about seventy-nine years.

His eldest son, Manuel Zirilo Perez, married Marie Feliciana Magdalina Toutant Beauregard, of the family of General Gustave Toutant Beauregard, and their daughter—the granddaughter of Governor Perez—married Fernando Gayoso de Lemos, son of Governor Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos. Their descendants, and the descendants of the daughters of Governor Perez are now living at New Orleans.[3]

[2] 1 Houck's *Spanish Régime in Missouri*, p. 369.

[3] For the personal details regarding Governor Perez, and for the portraits of the Governor and his wife, the thanks of the Historical Society are due to Mrs. Felicité Gayoso de Lemos Tennent, of New Orleans, a great-granddaughter of Governor Perez and a granddaughter of Governor Gayoso.

HOUCK'S HISTORY OF MISSOURI.[1]

Mr. Houck has well earned the gratitude of all Missourians. The three substantial volumes of this history constitute a storehouse of information and entertainment. Although it comes to an end with the admission of the State into the Federal Union, it covers the period of the beginnings of our history so thoroughly that the story of that time will never have to be rewritten. And it sets the standard so high that we may confidently hope that future writers who continue the work down to our own times may be encouraged to maintain an equal level.

The first thing that strikes the reader upon examining the book is the immense amount of labor required to get together the material and reduce it into the logical arrangement and readable form in which we find it. It is a work that could not be done by a professional historian.

The years of research for materials, the great expense in procuring them, and the fact that pecuniary compensation or even reimbursement was not to be hoped for, would have barred anyone not moved by interest in and love for the subject from ever undertaking it. We may congratulate ourselves that this portion of our history had remained, until now, unwritten. For only a virgin and unexplored subject would have been sufficiently inviting to induce even so good a Missourian as Mr. Houck to make the sacrifice required for its accomplishment.

[1] A History of Missouri from the Earliest Explorations and Settlements Until the Admission of the State into the Union. By Louis Houck. Three volumes. Chicago: R. R. Donnelly & Sons Company, 1908. For sale by Naeter Brothers, Cape Girardeau.

The work to be done was one of unusual difficulty. The history of Missouri, unlike that of most of the States, has three beginnings—the Spanish, the French and the American. The fact that the inhabitants were transferred from the Government of one country to that of another without their own wishes being considered, tended to suppress the pride of race and achievement out of which a love for history is developed. Our first-comers had none of the self-consciousness of the Pilgrims, and were not impressed with the idea that the world was watching the results of their experiment. Consequently, there is to be found almost nothing in the way of historical writing produced by Missourians who became such prior to the transfer of the country to the United States. The well-known fragment of Col. Auguste Chouteau's Journal, concerning the founding of St. Louis, stands practically alone.

When the French and Spanish officers withdrew from the country they carried with them the official records. The American settlers, who came into the country after the transfer in 1804, had all of their thoughts turned towards the future, which they purposed making for themselves, and were not concerned with the past of the country into which they came. They were for the most part wholly unsympathetic with the people whom they found here, and very generally provoked in those people feelings of dislike and contempt. The result of this that the American rule was not a continuation of what had gone before. There was an abrupt breaking off from the old and a new beginning. Several of the Spanish Governors were of French blood, and those who were Spaniards knew and made use of the French language, which was that of most of the inhabitants. The Americans neither knew nor cared for any language but their own. Their aims were material, and in the struggle "to get on" things not helpful

to that end were little considered. There were individuals who were notable exceptions, but such was the rule.

In consequence of all this, the first question that confronted Mr. Houck when he began his work was whether or not there was in existence sufficient material to reconstruct the history of the first hundred years, during which white people had lived within the present limits of the State. What was to be found in this country was wholly inadequate; and to answer the question the archives of Canada, France, Spain, Cuba and Mexico had to be ransacked. Much of this Mr. Houck had to have done under general instructions, that is, to see what could be found. What was there discovered is the foundation of the first two volumes of this book. The sources from which the details of the story could be filled in are various and widely scattered. The journals of explorers, the relations of the early missionaries, the *memoires* of the French military officers, the church records, the public archives of the United States and of Missouri, the documents relating to the private affairs and business of the people which were left at the various posts at the time of the transfer, stories of travelers, law reports, private letters and the recollections of individuals have all been studied, and a scrap found here and there, which, after being duly tested, was woven into the narrative. The resulting story is a romantic and extremely interesting one. First, the French explorers, traders, missionaries and soldiers, with one fort (Fort Orleans) on the Missouri, and one village (Sainte Genevieve) on the Mississippi; then the growth of a group of villages in the wilderness under the Spanish; then the rush of the Americans, who, in less than twenty years made Missouri into a State.

The book begins with an account of the settlement of the boundaries of the State, an account of its geological

history, and a description of its physical appearance before it was transformed by the ax and the plow. The praises which the early travelers bestowed upon the climate, the landscape, the forests, the rivers and the soil, are in harmony with Hennepin's declaration that this part of the country should be known as "the delight of America." The second chapter treats of the pre-historic remains which are so abundant throughout the State, and which have as yet received little scientific consideration. A special survey was made of a good part of the State, and the result of it is shown on numerous county maps, with which, together with reproductions of photographs, the chapter is illustrated. The story of the discovery, and of the various French and Spanish explorations is then told. Chapter VII gives an account of the Missouri Indians; those who dwelt within the borders of the State and those who used parts of it as their hunting grounds. Who they were, where they lived, what their habits and methods of life were, and the treatment which they gave to and received from the whites, is here told in a most interesting manner. The old Indian traces or trails are described and a map of the State given showing the principal ones. And it is to be noticed that at the present time the course of many of these trails has been utilized by the railroads.

Following this begins the history of the country as the abiding place of the white people. First the traders and, what we may now call, prospectors, then soldiers, and, lastly, settlers. It is a little known fact that French Canadian traders had ascended the Missouri River to the Platte as early as 1705. Then comes the cession to Spain, and an account of the Spanish occupation and government. A chapter is devoted to each of the towns; Ste. Genevieve, St. Louis, St. Charles, New Madrid and Cape Girardeau, with an account of the outlying villages The methods of life of the early inhabitants are

pictured, with an account of their manners, their dress, their hospitality, their business, their methods of travel, their inns, their schools, their churches and religious life, illustrated by anecdotes of incident and adventure characteristic of their situation. The story of the intrigues between the Americans and the Spanish is recounted, and the details of the sale of Louisiana by France to the United States briefly given. Chapter XXI is devoted to the transfer of Upper Louisiana at St. Louis, in March, 1804, from Spain to France and from France to the United States. In it is depicted the attitude of the people toward their new rulers, and their chagrin and discontent at being abandoned by their mother country of France, and by Spain, which had been to them a most kindly stepmother.

The third volume tells of the American domination and settlement and the growth to statehood. The government of Upper Louisiana was, in the beginning, a thoughtless makeshift. Without any bad purpose on the part of the rulers, the rights of the original inhabitants were in many ways wholly disregarded. Their numbers were not sufficient to warrant them in resisting, and they submitted as a matter of necessity.

Mr. Houck tells of the legislation by which the government was Americanized, of the governors, among whom there were some notable personages, of the courts and the lawyers. One chapter is devoted to a most interesting account of the settlement of the land titles. From the Creole standpoint the dealing of the Federal Government with the Louisiana land titles appears to be a series of disastrous blunders which produced great injustice and much suffering. Mr. Houck looks at the matter from the American point of view, however, and gives little emphasis to this phase of it, though he is no way partisan.

The social and political changes brought about by the

influx of Americans is an interesting subject, which Mr. Houck has dealt with with much care. And in this connection he tells of the notable persons of that time, of the pioneer physicians, postmasters and newspaper men, and of the duels by which many good men were lost to the State. Most Missourians will be surprised to learn that their State was actively involved, within its own borders, in the War of 1812. The account of the events in Missouri during the war is by no means the least interesting of the seven chapters that go to make up this volume, and it is the first connected account that is to be found in print.

The great rush of settlers began soon after the close of that war. New settlements sprang up on every hand and the old ones began to take on a new importance. Mr. Houck has traced the source of the streams of immigration which flowed into the State, and has preserved the names of many of the individuals who were notable among the newcomers. A full account is given of the New Madrid earthquake, and also of its most disastrous result, the land grants in aid of the sufferers, which plastered the State with fraudulent "New Madrid claims."

The early Protestant missionaries, ministers and churches are the subject of Chapter XXVIII. Chapter XXIX which concludes the book, tells of the movement for statehood. An account is given of the constitutional convention, its members, and its work; of the election of the first senators, Benton and Barton, and of the admission of the State to the Union.

While Mr. Houck gives a full account of the public history of the time, he does much more. From the number of individuals mentioned, it seems safe to say that few of the early inhabitants of any importance have escaped Mr. Houck's research. The course of the narrative runs on uninterrupted, but in the notes the names

of the landowners in each community, the soldiers, the traders and voyageurs are set out, with such information as could be obtained about each. The volumes abound in portraits, many here first published. And many old maps and plans, some now first obtained from the archives of Spain, are reproduced. There are necessarily a few errors to be found. For instance, the year 1808 is, following many writers, given as the date of the incorporation of the town of St. Louis, instead of 1809, the correct date. But the errors are few and unimportant. The book may be depended upon for its accuracy, and in its comprehensiveness, its fairness and its readable quality it takes the lead among State histories.

Killbuck's Marital Adventures. — "For twenty years I packed a Squaw along. Not one, but a many. First I had a Blackfoot—the darndest slut as ever cried for fofarrow. I lodge-poled her on Colter's Creek, and made her quit. My buffler hos and as good as four packs of beaver, I gave for old Bull-Tail's daughter. He was head chief of the Ricaree, and 'came' nicely 'round' me. Thar wasn't enough scarlet-cloth, nor beads, nor vermillion in Sublette's packs for her. Traps wouldn't buy her all the fofarrow she wanted; and in two years I'd sold her to Cross-Eagle for one of Jake Hawken's guns— this very one I hold in my hands. Then I tried the Sioux, the Shian, and a Digger from the other side, who made the best moccasin as ever I wore. She was the best of all, and was rubbed out by the Yutas in the Bayou Salade. Bad was the best; and after she was gone under I tried no more."

Ruxton's *Life in the Far West.*

In Memoriam.

J. B. C. Lucas.

The family of Lucas has been notable in the history of Missouri for more than a hundred years. The first of the family who was resident here was Judge Jean B. C. Lucas, who came with his family to make his home in St. Louis in 1805.

He was land commissioner and judge, and active in public affairs. He died in 1842, aged eighty-four years. He had five sons and one daughter. Four of his sons died early in life, one of them, Charles Lucas, having been killed in a duel by Col. Thomas H. Benton.

Two children, a son and daughter, lived to a ripe old age.

The daughter, Anne, married, first, Captain Theodore Hunt, and was the mother of three children. She married, second, Wilson Price Hunt, who had been the leader of the Astoria Expedition in 1811, and who was a cousin of her first husband. The little book of her recollections, written by her late in life, is a most valuable contribution to St. Louis history. She gave liberally and wisely in charity, and several of our most helpful public charitable institutions were founded by her.

The son, James H. Lucas, was for many years a leading citizen of the State. He married in Arkansas, in 1832, Miss Mary E. Desruisseaux, who was descended of a Canadian family which has produced many distinguished men in Canada and in the United States. Mr. Lucas, like his sister, gave much in charity.[2] He

[2] One of his gifts was the square immediately north of the new Public Library, the site of his father's country home. He gave that square to the city "to establish a permanent monument to the memory of his an-

John P. Lucas

was one of the earliest and most liberal supporters of the Missouri Historical Society. It is the purpose of the Society to publish in the near future an adequate account of his life. He died in 1873, leaving six sons and two daughters.

The fourth child of James H. Lucas, who was named for his grandfather, Jean Baptiste Charles, and who was known by his friends by the last of these names, was born in St. Louis 30 December 1847. He was educated in St. Louis and in eastern institutions of learning, and took the place in the active life of the city which had been held by his father and grandfather, except that, unlike them, he never held public office. He was a large owner of real estate and devoted much time to the business of banking, insurance and railroading. He was a man of strong feelings, and of intense loyalty to everything which enlisted his affections. He was devoted to the history and traditions of his family, and in 1895 published a collection of the letters of his grandfather, and from time to time reprinted various interesting family memorials. He was fond of country life, and maintained a home in St. Louis County as well as in the city. He was an enthusiastic sportsman, and those who were privileged to be his guests at his hunting lodge on the Gasconade were pleased to find that he could throw off the cares of business and enter into the delights of life in the woods with all the zest of a boy.

He was much interested in the aboriginal inhabitants of Missouri, and made a valuable collection of Indian weapons and utensils which he gave to the St. Louis University. Like the other members of his family, Mr. Lucas's hand was never closed against the call of charity.

He took an intelligent and active interest in public

cestor, the late Honorable John B. C. Lucas, in the shape of a public square bearing his name." The city took the gift but, for some reason Mr. Lucas's purpose as to the name was disregarded.

affairs, and was during the whole period of his manhood a supporter of the Missouri Historical Society and was for a time its Treasurer.

Mr. Lucas was twice married; first to Miss Mary Morton, and, after her decease, to her sister, Miss Isabel Lee Morton.

He had five children: Isabel, now Mrs. Sawyer; Francine, now Mrs. Kelly; Mary, now Mrs. Hart; Charles, Morton and Emilie. Emilie died 1 August 1908, at the age of six years, eight months and thirteen days.

Mr. Lucas died at Rochester, Minnesota, 16 September 1908, after a long illness. His death deprived the State of a very able citizen, and this Society of a faithful and cherished member.

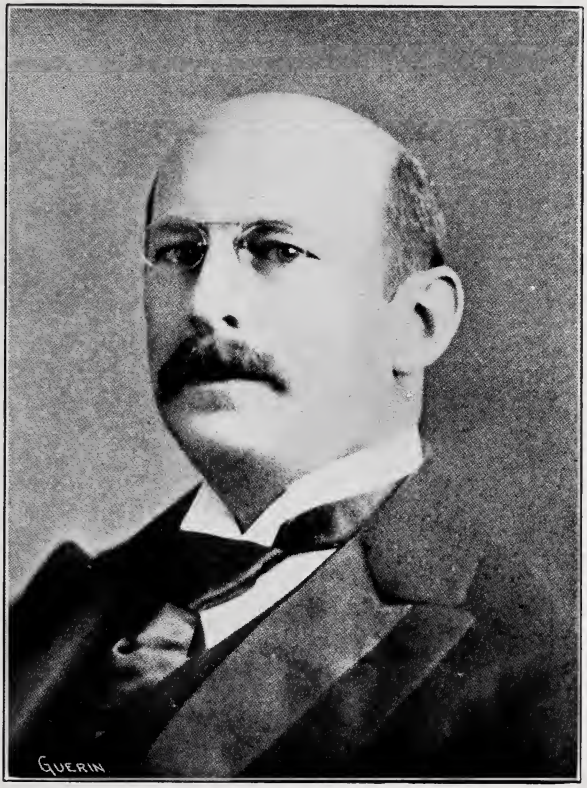
In Memoriam.

Pierre Chouteau.

Pierre Chouteau was born in St. Louis, at Seventh and Market Streets, 30 July 1849, and died at St. Luke's Hospital, after a protracted illness, 21 November 1910.

Mr. Chouteau was the son of Charles Pierre Chouteau and Julie Anne Gratiot, who were married in St. Louis 7 November 1845. He was the grandson of Pierre Chouteau, Jr., who was in his day the most distinguished business man in the State, and the great-great-grandson of Laclede, the founder of St. Louis. On the maternal side he was descended from Charles Gratiot, a pioneer St. Louisian of the first rank in character and ability.

Mr. Chouteau received his education at Seton Hall in New Jersey, and at the Royal School of Arts, Mines and Manufactures at Liege, Belgium. Upon his return from Europe in 1874, he contemplated following



Pierre Chouteau

the profession of civil engineer for which he had been trained, but his father being in need of his assistance in the management of his estate and business affairs, Mr. Chouteau was induced to abandon his chosen profession, though his interest in it remained always active.

It was during the life time of Mr. Chouteau that St. Louis was transformed from a town into a city, and he was an important factor in the transformation.

In his youth, his family was still engaged in the fur trade, for the prosecution of which the settlement here was begun; and, upon at least one occasion, Mr. Chouteau made the long voyage upon one of the fur company's boats, to the posts on the upper Missouri. His knowledge of the methods of life and business of the fur traders and the Indians, and of the history of the trade, was comprehensive and accurate.

Many years before his death Mr. Chouteau withdrew from personal participation in business affairs, and gave much of his time and energy to the promotion of public enterprises. His work in bringing about the holding of a world's fair in St. Louis, and making it a success, is shown in the resolution of the directors of the company, printed herewith. In the work of the Civic League he was a trusted adviser and helper.

He was one of the chief promoters, and most valuable directors of the centennial celebration committee which had charge of the celebration in 1909 of the one hundredth anniversary of the incorporation of the town of St. Louis.

The work to which he gave the most enthusiasm, perhaps, was that which he did in connection with the Missouri Historical Society. He was an officer of the Society, and a member of its board of directors for many years; withdrawing from the work only when his failing health made it necessary for him to do so. His intimate knowledge of the history of the city and its

people, his keen, intelligent interest and untiring industry was one of the chief means by which the Society has been enabled to accumulate the vast collection of historical source materials now in its possession. The Chouteau Collection of Spanish Archives which he collected and arranged for and gave to the Society will be a perpetual monument to his memory. And the collection of family papers, which he so carefully gathered and preserved, and which is indispensable to an accurate knowledge of the history of not only St. Louis, but of the whole Missouri River country, will be a still greater monument, and will earn for him the gratitude of students and readers of history for all time.

Mr. Chouteau married in 1882 Miss Lucile M. Chauvin, a kinswoman of Nicolas Chauvin Lafrenière, who was the leader of the opposition to the transfer of Louisiana to Spain, and who was executed by "Bloody O'Reilly" in 1770.

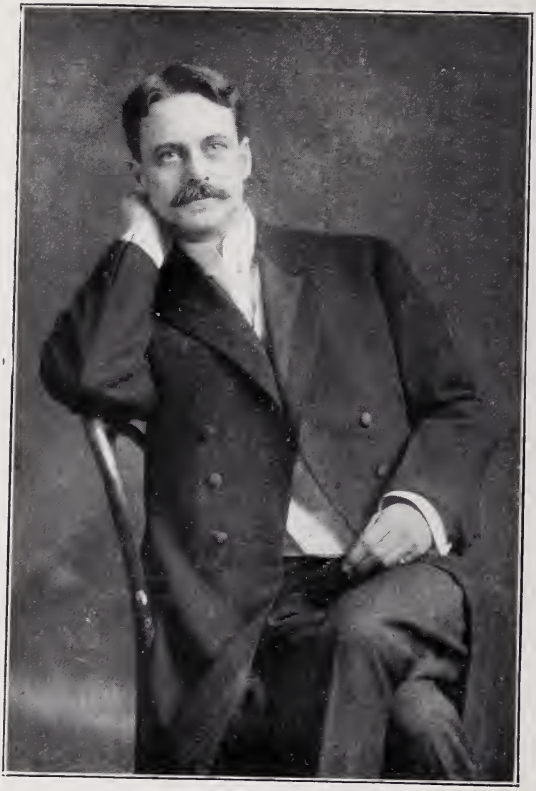
They had two children, a daughter, now Mrs. James Lucas Turner, and a son, Pierre Chouteau.

The latter as the chosen representative of the State of Louisiana, raised the flag of the State over the Cabildo, at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in 1904.

At a meeting of the board of directors of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company, the following memorial tribute to the late Pierre Chouteau was adopted and spread upon the records of the company:

"The initiative action toward the celebration of the Louisiana Purchase Centennial was taken on the suggestion of Pierre Chouteau. The successive committees, which considered and determined the appropriate form such celebration should take, met and deliberated under his chairmanship. Throughout the period of careful, thorough and wise consideration Pierre Chouteau's tenacity of purpose was helpful to the movement.

"When the committee of two hundred citizens was



Malcolm Macbeth

chosen to conduct the preliminary campaign, Mr. Chouteau was made the chairman. And when, in 1901, the corporation was formed, he became one of the vice-presidents, a member of the committee on organization, and chairman of the committee on history.

"A considerable part of his time for six years, although his health had begun to fail, Pierre Chouteau gave to the World's Fair in the inception, in the period of preparation, and in the successful accomplishment.

"Lineal descendant of the founder, intimately versed as were few of this generation, in the progress of this community, justly proud of the part which his ancestors had performed in the creation and building of the city, he made his devotion to the history of St. Louis and to the celebration of the centennial of acquisition of Louisiana Territory an absorbing labor of love.

The directors of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company record gratefully this tribute to the memory of Vice-President Pierre Chouteau.

"Samuel M. Kennard,
"Daniel M. Houser,
"Charles H. Huttig,
"Cyrus P. Walbridge,
Vice-Presidents.
"David R. Francis,
President.

"Walter B. Stevens, *Secretary.*"

In Memoriam.

Malcolm Macbeth.

On 12 July 1910, Malcolm Macbeth died at Battle Creek, Michigan.

He had been a member of the board of directors of the Missouri Historical Society since 1893. He was

greatly interested in the welfare of the Society and was faithful and diligent at all times in the discharge of his duties as a member of the board.

Mr. Macbeth was born at Spartansburg, South Carolina, 11 July 1865. He was a son of James Ravenel Macbeth and Agnes Wallace (Pearson) Macbeth. His ancestry was mainly Scottish and Huguenot. His American progenitors were early immigrants to South Carolina, and many of them were distinguished in the civil and military service of their State. Two of them, Charles Macbeth and Daniel Ravenel, were mayors of Charleston.

Mr. Macbeth came to Missouri in his childhood, and the greater part of his life was spent in St. Louis. He was, for a time, in the service of the city, but later engaged in the real estate business. He was for three years president of the Real Estate Exchange, the influence of which was much advanced by his unwearied activity.

The following resolution was adopted by the St. Louis Real Estate Exchange on the death of Mr. Macbeth:

WHEREAS, It has pleased Providence to remove from among us Malcolm Macbeth, an old and time-honored member of this Exchange, it seems fitting that the board of directors should publicly voice the genuine sense of loss felt by the entire membership of the Exchange, and that it should testify to the high esteem which his sterling character and many virtues, both public and private, richly earned for him. Mr. Macbeth was, in private life and in all his business relations, a man of the highest sense of honor and of distinguished personal rectitude. In his public capacity as preisdent of this Exchange, in its early years of struggle, his record of accomplishment during his three consecutive terms of office has never been surpassed by predecessors or successors. To an ardent zeal for the welfare of the Exchange he united remarkable clearness of perception and judgment, and an energy and force-

fulness which have borne fruit in many ways of advantage alike to the calling he adorned and to the city of which he was so proud.

After the expiration of his term as president of the Real Estate Exchange, he was much solicited to become a candidate for mayor of St. Louis, and, had he lived, he would probably, at sometime, have filled that office.

Mr. Macbeth married 26 November 1890 at St. Louis Miss Clara Pelagie Mitchell, who was descended through the Chouteaus, Bertholds and Ewings, from Laclede.

Mrs. Macbeth, who was a woman of unusually strong and lovable character, died 20 April 1901.

Four children survive: Claire Berthold, George Kerr, Damaris de St. Julien and Malcolm.

Mr. Macbeth was a devoted husband and father, and after the death of Mrs. Macbeth he assumed the double duty towards his children, and they were at all times first in his thoughts and the inspiration of all his actions.

He was of a sociable disposition; an unusually good-looking man, and his handsome appearance and agreeable manners caused him to be very popular socially. Yet he was a man with a genius for friendship; unselfish and with an unfailing consideration and thoughtfulness which endeared him to his friends, who will long cherish his memory.

Both Mr. and Mrs. Macbeth were ardent students of genealogy. He published, some years ago, an interesting abstract of their work in certain lines, and at the time of his death a volume embodying the results of their labors was nearly ready for the press.

F. B.

NOTES.

Errata. In connection with the note on page 143 of this volume concerning the name of the Spanish captain who came to Missouri in 1767, see fac-simile of his signature on page 273 of this issue.

In a note on page 146 of this volume it is suggested that the fort which formerly existed at St. Charles might have been one of those built by Rui. The paper printed in this issue on *The Forts at the Mouth of the Missouri River,* demonstrates that the suggestion is without support. The origin of the fort at St. Charles is a problem which remains to be worked out.

The statement on page 189 of this volume that Charlotte Camp, the widow Guion, married Moses Bates of Ste. Genevieve is erroneous. It was Charlotte Camp who married Moses Bates, but it was Catherine Camp who was the widow Guion. Catherine married Israel Dodge at St. Louis, 18 January, 1804. They are designated in the St. Louis Archives as follows:

——"le Sieur Israel Dodge fils legitime de defunt Sr. John Dodge et de Dlle. Lidy Rogers son epouse, veuf de defunte dame Theodosia Lewis, natif de l'etat du Connecticut, actuellement resident au district de la Nouvelle Bourbon, et dame Madeleine Catherine Camp, veuve de Mr. Jn. Baptiste Guion, fille legitime de deffunte Sr. Chabot [Ichabod] Camp et de Dlle. Olivier sa femme, née en Virginie, Etats Unis d'Amerique."

On page 200, acknowledgement is made of the Society's obligations to Mr. *Charles* M. Burton of Detroit. Every one interested in Western history would recognize that Mr. Clarence Monroe Burton, whose efficient work has so illuminated the subject, is the person to whom our thanks are due. Since the date of that issue Mr. Burton has placed the Society under further obligations for which he has our grateful thanks.

The Collections. The next issue of the Collections, completing Volume III, will be published according to present expectations, not later than July of this year. With the publication of that number, the issue of the Collections in periodical form will be discontinued. It is the intention of the Society to have the Collections appear annually hereafter, in a bound volume of five or six hundred pages, to be issued, if possible, in January of each year.

The New Building.—In May, 1898, the Missouri Historical Society sent out an invitation to various St. Louis organizations to join in consideration of plans for the proper observance of the Louisiana Purchase Centennial, then approaching. From that formal inception developed the organization which conducted the World's Fair of 1904.

On the 1st of May, 1911, was laid the cornerstone of the Jefferson Memorial which twelve months hence will become the permanent home of the Missouri Historical Society. The site is the DeBalivere entrance to Forest Park. The building marks what was the main entrance to the World's Fair. With the statuary, the cost of the memorial will be $450,000.

By the erection of this structure for the uses to which it is to be devoted, the movement originated by the Missouri Historical Society just thirteen years ago fulfills its avowed purposes. The Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company was incorporated, first, to hold a World's Fair; second, to promote and encourage literature, history, science, information, or skill among the learned professions, intellectual culture in any branch or department, the establishment of museums, libraries, art galleries, or the erection of public monuments commemorative of state or national historical events or persons, or for all of said purposes; third, in general, to

promote, establish and maintain any institution or organization which tends to the public benefit in relation to any or several or all of the objects above enumerated, and whatever may be incidental thereto."

Having carried out the first of the objects for which it was formed—the holding of an exposition—the corporation, in the erection of the Jefferson Memorial structure and in the provision of a statue of Jefferson and other statuary of permanent character, devotes its resources to the accomplishment of the second and third subdivisions of the legislative act to which it owes its existence. By the ordinance of the city occupancy of the structure is given to the Missouri Historical Society, and by the agreement with the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company, the Missouri Historical Society undertakes the preservation of the records and the exhibit of the relics and souvenirs of the World's Fair.

The structure is fireproof, there being no wood used in any part of it. The building fronts south and north its length of 330 feet; the depth is 50 feet and the height is 60 feet. The walls will be of buff Bedford stone of the highest standard; the interior walls, of concrete.

The architect of the building is Isaac S. Taylor, who was director of works of the World's Fair. The sculptor of the Jefferson statue is Karl Bitter, who was chief of sculpture of the World's Fair. The heroic statue of Jefferson, of Tennessee marble, will occupy the central rotunda. East and west will extend the wings especially designed for the purposes of an historical museum. The building stands upon an elevation just within the Park and is planned, with an unusually high basement or ground floor, to afford exhibit halls for the extensive archaeological collections of the Missouri Historical Society. These collections are, probably, the most varied and complete in the United States. In some respects they surpass those of the Smithsonian at Washington.

Other exhibits, of considerable weight, will be installed in the ground floor halls. One hall, 60 feet long and 46 feet wide, on this floor will serve as the repository of the plans and records of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition and of other archives. A hall of corresponding dimensions in the other wing will be occupied by the cases of the archaeological collections, embracing some 30,000 articles. There are two other exhibit halls 20 by 36 feet on this floor, one of which will be occupied in part by the old hand engine, the hose reels and various relics of fire-fighting apparata belonging to the days of the volunteer firemen of St. Louis. A fifth exhibition hall on this floor is 20 by 51. In addition there is a large packing room. The engine room and public comfort stations, the latter more elaborate and commodious than are usually found in public parks, are located on this ground floor. These comfort stations are entered from the south side of the building, and are entirely separate from the other portions.

The main floor, entrances to which are from either side of the great rotunda, is divided into four large exhibit halls, two offices with fireproof vaults and the Jefferson Hall and anteroom. The Jefferson Hall, in which will be hung large views of the World's Fair, portraits of historic persons of the Louisiana Purchase, paintings of notable places in the Louisiana Purchase States, occupies a section of the west wing. It is planned as a place of assemblage, having accommodations for several hundred people. The Jefferson Hall occupies the full height of the two stories with a gallery on the level of the second floor. It is well adapted to show large pictures. Two of the exhibit halls on this floor are over 50 feet in length. Two others are 35 feet in length.

The second floor contains a library room 64 feet long. It has offices for the librarian and for the director. It has exhibit rooms, a lecture room, a room for students

who may wish to consult books or manuscripts. It has large vaults for the safe keeping of manuscripts. The division of the building and the arrangement with respect to accessibility and light have been made with the special requirements of an historical museum and library constantly in view. The approaches to the structure will be so constructed that vehicles will not come nearer the entrances than 250 feet. There can be no other building adjacent, so that the contents of the building will be as safe as human ingenuity can make them. During half a century the Missouri Historical Society has been assembling the collections which will be installed in this building next year. In addition to what the Society now has in hand, assurances of gifts and loans have been volunteered to such an extent that it is certain the building will be filled from the day of the formal opening. W. B. S.

The Francis Valle Papers. Since the publication of the last number of the Collections the Society has received from Captain Francis Vallé a large collection of family papers of the greatest interest as materials for Missouri History. Among them are letters from nearly all of the Spanish governors and many other letters of both private and public nature. There are also many documents of various kinds, all of importance as throwing light on the social and business life of the early days. The papers will form the Francis Vallé Collection, and will be kept together in the archives of the Society, under that designation.

Captain Vallé was born at St. Michel's, now Fredericktown, Missouri, 9 April 1829. His ancestry is given in *Notes on the Genealogy of the Vallé Family,* by the late, and always to be lamented, Mary Louise Dalton, in Volume II of these Collections. He served with credit in the Mexican War and in the war between

the States, having been a captain in the Confederate Army under General John S. Marmaduke. Captain Vallé made his home in St. Louis after the war, and died here 1 November 1910. He was a man of high character, of a most likable nature, and his friends were many and devoted.

The Waldo Papers. Mrs. W. M. Sloan of Kansas City, daughter of the late Dr. David Waldo, has deposited with the Society a number of family papers covering the years 1832-1860. Among these papers there is a diary of Dr. Waldo, and many letters, including a number from Dr. Josiah Gregg and Henry Connelly. These papers cast much light upon the history of those times, and will be published without unnecessary delay. The Waldo family furnished several of the leading men of that day, and its history should be better known.

Missourians have never shown a disposition to make much of their own. When Captain William Waldo in 1850, risked his life and his fortune, in rescuing several parties of Californian immigrants, the Missouri Legislature showed its appreciation of his acts, by asking Congress to do something. The memorial of the Legislature says:

"Your memorialist alludes to the efforts of Captain William Waldo in behalf of the emigrants who were sorely afflicted with famine and disease on the latter part of the Californian trail the last fall. Citizens were found on that 'death trail' from every State in the Union, and Missouri, especially, suffered greatly. The whole Union has been recipients of Waldo's deeds of humanity, in the persons of citizens of every State, and your memorialist asks at the hands of the Government a reimbursement of his outlay, and a reward for his generous deeds of philanthropy."

It is to be hoped that the day will come when the Missouri Legislature will recognize that Missouri should take care of her own obligations.

The Beckwith Archaeological Collection. Mr. Thomas Beckwith of Charleston, Missouri, has promised to the Society the remarkable collection of Indian artifacts which he has collected by personal exploration, mainly in Scott County. Mr. Beckwith's collection is remarkable for its extent and variety, and is doubly interesting because of the fact that it was collected in one locality. Mr. Beckwith is engaged in writing an account of the collection which will be published by the Society. It is the purpose of the Society to devote a room in the new building to the exhibition of the Beckwith Collection, and to have it arranged as an educational exhibit, so that the student by its means can trace the progressive steps of aboriginal development. It is anticipated that this collection, together with the large and interesting collections already in the possession of the Society will make the new museum the resort of students from all parts of the country.

Interesting references to Mr. Beckwith's Collection and to his manner of exploration are to be found in the first volume of Houck's *History of Missouri.*

Black Hawk's Bowl. The Society has received from Miss Mary Alicia Owen of St. Joseph, the gift of an Indian bowl which was once the property of Black Hawk. It is of the capacity of about two quarts, and is beautifully cut out of the root of a walnut tree. It is accompanied by a spoon or ladle made out of the same material. The character of the bowl as an exquisite example of Indian handiwork, the fact of its having belonged to Black Hawk, and the fact that it is the gift of Miss Owen, all contribute to make it one of the most cherished possessions of the Society.

YOU have guarded your will against every danger when you name this Company its executor. You have secured the services of a state-supervised corporation which never takes a vacation, never falls sick, never absconds and never dies; whose faithful performance is compelled by law, assured by its record and guaranteed by Capital, Surplus and Profits of $8,500,000.

OUR COMMITTEE ON TRUST ESTATES:

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FOURTH and PINE